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SCOTTISH EDUCATION
SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET
Berlin: A. ASHER AND CO.
Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS
New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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SCOTTISH EDUCATION
SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

FROM EARLY TIMES TO 1908

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BY

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PREFACE

WHEN, at the suggestion of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, I undertook to write the History of Scottish Education from early times to the present day, I did so with much hesitation. The difficulty of presenting within comparatively narrow limits such an account of a large subject as would be at once solid enough to be useful to the educationist, and interesting enough to appeal to the general reader, seemed a very serious one. As I have proceeded with my task that difficulty has not disappeared. All important as education is for the well-being of a nation, it cannot be called a generally attractive subject. There is no doubt in every community a small percentage who take a special interest in it, but as a rule, it is only those who are practically or professionally in close quarters with it who give serious consideration to either the history or the details of education. While the admirably accurate, and, for the period and subject covered, exhaustive record in Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland* is a perfect store-house of facts accompanied by eminently sensible comments, it is more a book for reference than continuous perusal. In the work which I have undertaken it is not desirable, even if it were possible, to introduce the innumerable details which Mr Grant has with most praiseworthy industry and skill brought together. My aim has been to select from them and other available sources such as are typical of the time and locality to which they belong, and present them—to use the language of Art—in an impressionist or bird's-eye view.

It can scarcely be said that the historian of education, in dealing with what precedes the 12th Century, is standing on

sufficiently solid ground. With that century accordingly our history begins.

The History falls conveniently into four periods.

First (*a*) Schools from early times to 1560 and the founding of Grammar Schools.

(*b*) The founding of the three oldest Universities.

Second (*a*) Schools from 1560 to 1696, the Reformation era.

(*b*) The Universities of the same period.

Third (*a*) Schools from 1696 to 1872, the era of well-established Parish Schools.

(*b*) The Universities from 1696 to the period when, by the Act of 1858, they may be said to have been nationalised.

Fourth (*a*) Schools from 1872 to 1908.

(*b*) The Universities from 1858 to 1908.

In 1907 when my task up to 1906 was within sight of completion, I was unfortunately seized with an illness which made absolute rest for several months imperative. Recovered so far as to resume work I decided to bring my narrative to a certain extent up to date, and proceeded to deal with what is rather the politics than the history of education—the multitudinous changes which from 1906 to 1908 characterise the subject alike in School and University. We have in schools an entire change in the character of inspection and in the training of teachers; in the universities changes in the curricula, and demands for autonomy arising from the restiveness of General Councils, under conditions which made the framing of New Ordinances, suitable to the varying needs and environments of each university, exceedingly difficult. In these circumstances it was suggested to me that the history might be suitably rounded off up to date by experts giving in short appendixes a condensed account of what has been done, and the outlook of what has been proposed, during these two years. I have been fortunate in

securing kind friends who have both the will and the skill required, each appendix appearing under the name of the author.

I have endeavoured to be accurate in the use of quotation marks, and in verification of references in footnotes. I have revised the whole carefully, supplying omissions, and removing what could with advantage be spared, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to expect that a close and practical acquaintance with the school and university life of both Scotland and England for more than fifty years has prevented me from falling into very serious inaccuracy or misconception.

I regret that Mr Strong's interesting treatise on Secondary Education in Scotland did not appear till the whole of the present work was in type, and so too late for me to profit by it.

I have to acknowledge with hearty thanks the readiness with which my requests for information and for the revision of some of the proof sheets were met by University Officials—J. M. Anderson of St Andrews, J. Coutts and W. Innes Addison of Glasgow, P. J. Anderson of Aberdeen, and Sir Ludovic Grant of Edinburgh. I have also to thank C. Stewart of Gordon's College, Aberdeen, and Dr Lauder of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Agricultural College for useful notes. But more than to any other my very special thanks are due to Dr Giles of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for most careful revision of all the proofs and for many valuable suggestions. Lastly a well-deserved acknowledgment to my daughter for a full Index is probably not out of place.

J. K.

EDINBURGH,
December 15, 1909.

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CHAPTER I

SCHOOLS BEFORE 1560

THERE is not so far as I have seen any exact record of education in Scotland earlier than the 12th century. It is however not only a fair but a necessary inference, that there must have been schools of some kind, probably only those in connection with monasteries, from the time of the settlement of Columba in Iona in 563. The service of the Church, which was conducted in Latin, must have required that the boys and youths who took part in the service, or who were being trained as clerics, got more or less instruction in that language. The absence of books also required that they should be taught writing with a view to copying the Scriptures and religious books.

We are on perfectly safe ground in stating that between 1183 and 1248 grants of lands, houses, chapels, tithes, and schools were made or confirmed to different parts of the country by no fewer than six Popes, ranging from Lucius to Innocent IV, all for the promotion of education.

The fostering of education was not left to the Popes alone. In the Chamberlain and Exchequer rolls we find abundant evidence of the interest shown by the Scottish kings during the whole of the 14th century. Grant after grant is recorded as being paid by the King's Treasurer and Chamberlain to meet the expense of food and clothing for certain poor scholars. It is fair to infer from this, that the schools attended by these poor scholars were doing good work. It may be presumed that they were chosen for this royal favour because of their industry and ability. Selection would have been impossible, had the teacher been half-hearted or the pupil indolent.

That the teaching, though probably solid and faithful, was not highly advanced is shown by the fact that those who aimed at the higher reaches of education were obliged to seek it in the oldest of the Oxford Colleges—University, Merton and Balliol—or abroad in France, Switzerland, Germany and Italy, for Scotland at that time had no great schools of her own. Many did so with the help of grants from our sovereigns, and returned to be masters of schools in their native land. The absence of schools in Scotland in which a liberal education could be completed, the inconvenience of foreign travel for this purpose, and the rapidly growing desire for advanced education led to the foundation of the three earliest Scottish universities, St Andrews in 1411, Glasgow in 1450, and Aberdeen in 1494.

Before the Reformation there were schools in most of the chief towns, but, north of Aberdeen, only in Elgin and Kirkwall which were cathedral towns. In the third report of the Schools Commission[1], dated December 1867, we are told that "schools for Latin, to which were subsequently added 'Lecture' schools for English, existed in the chief towns of Scotland from a very early period." We have authentic notice of a school in Aberdeen in 1124. The schools of Perth and Stirling were in existence in 1173, and charters quoted in Chalmers' *Caledonia* mention other schools, both in the twelfth and the subsequent century. It would serve no good purpose to enumerate them all, but we may specify St Andrews whose school was under the charge of a rector in 1233; Aberdeen and Ayr[2] of which we have notices in 1262 and 1264; Montrose, which had the honour of receiving a small endowment from Robert the Bruce in 1329[3], and speaking generally it may be said that all the chief towns, and many that have since sunk into obscurity, had schools, such as they were, before the beginning of the 16th century. The statute of the Scottish Parliament in the reign of James IV (1496) which ordains that "barons and freeholders who were of

[1] Vol. I, pp. 1, 2.

[2] Ayr also is mentioned as having a school in 1233.

[3] The amount contributed was only 20 shillings and scarcely attains to the dignity of an endowment. But it may be added that in the time of Elizabeth £8 was considered sufficient to endow a Hebrew Lecturer or a Fellowship in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

substance should put their eldest sons or heirs to the schools from their being eight or nine years of age, and to remain at the grammar schools till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin" is conclusive and satisfactory proof on this point[1]. It is satisfactory proof that an act was passed for compulsory education at grammar schools of the *eldest* sons or heirs of barons and men of substance, but only for them. The act makes no provision for girls or the children of people on a lower level than men of substance. This appears in the further provision, viz. that they must remain three years at the schools of art and 'jure' so as to have knowledge of the laws, and that justice may reign universally throughout the realm, and that sheriffs and judges may have knowledge to do justice, so that the poor people should have no need to apply to the King's principal auditors for every small injury[2]. Defaulters in respect of this act were liable to a penalty of twenty pounds. There is no evidence of the enforcement of the penalty. It is clear that the statute, striking proof as it is of the King's wisdom and foresight, and such as has no parallel in any other country at this early period, while beneficently providing for the *convenience* of the poorer people, left their *education* untouched.

These schools were under the direction of the Church, and were closely connected with the cathedrals, monasteries and other religious establishments of the country. Thus the monks of Dunfermline were directors of the schools of Perth and Stirling[3]; Ayr School was connected with the Church of John the Baptist[4]; the monks of Kelso were directors of the schools in the county of Roxburgh. Our first authentic notice of the schools of Dundee is a document in the register of the See of Brechin in 1434. In that year, a

[1] Acts of Scottish Parliament, 1496, c. 3, II, 238.

[2] It is to be noted that all sheriffships were at this time hereditary. The Cheynes of Ravenscraig near Peterhead were sheriffs of Banffshire, and, in order to have power of pit and gallows over their tenants, got the parish of St Fergus and their estate of Fetterangus declared to be part of Banffshire as it still remains marked in the map. Such an education as that described was very necessary for a *hereditary* sheriff.

[3] *Registrum de Dunfermlyn*, no. 93, p. 56.

[4] *Burgh Records of Ayr.*

priest ventured to teach without the authority of the Chancellor, and was in consequence summoned before the Bishop, and after duly acknowledging his offence was deprived of his office. The burgh of Edinburgh provided a school-house, and paid a salary to its teacher at least as early as 1500, but the High School itself was dependent on the Abbey of Holyrood[1].

"The Glasgow Grammar School, which existed early in the 14th century, was dependent on the cathedral church, and the Chancellor of the diocese had the appointment of masters and superintendence of education in the city[2]. An offending priest in 1494, who had presumed to teach grammar and other branches without due authority from the Chancellor, was summoned before the Bishop, and ordered to desist. In Aberdeen the early usage was as follows: The Town Council presented the master to his office, subject to the approval of the Chancellor of the Bishop who instituted the presentee. We find frequent notices of this from 1418 downwards. The terms of the appointment of rector in that year are in substance as follows: 'The Chancellor of the Church of Aberdeen to all the faithful, greeting: Inasmuch as the institution to the office of schoolmaster belongs to me as Chancellor, and an honest, prudent and discreet man has been presented to me by the Provost and Council of the burgh, and on examination has been found duly qualified, I have by letter of collation instituted him in the office for *the whole term of his life*.' Incidentally the last words (*pro toto tempore suæ vitæ*) are important as showing the tenure of office in those early times in Aberdeen[3]."

The attempts of the Church to possess the exclusive patronage of the schools were not always successful. In Brechin in 1485 a dispute on this subject between the Duke of Ross and the Bishop was settled by the Crown in favour of the Duke, and a warning was given that none of the King's lieges should "take upon hand to make any manner of persecution or following of the said matter at the Court of Rome, since it pertains to lay patronage."

[1] *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, vol. v, p. 69.
[2] *Registrum Epis. Glasg.* I, no. 211, p. 170.
[3] *State intervention in Education.* De Montmorency, p. 113.

There is little definite evidence that a general education apart from those pupils who were being trained for the Church was aimed at during the 12th and 13th centuries. Mr Grant in his history of the burgh schools mentions an incident recorded by Reginald of Durham from which a general and lower education may be inferred. This school was kept in a church on Tweedside "for the benefit of the neighbourhood." One of the pupils who did not appreciate the benefit, threw the key of the church into a deep pool in the river, hoping to escape "the slavery of learning." A lad in training for clerical service and under the power of the priests would scarcely have dared to seek this remedy. The same Reginald, speaking of a school kept in the church of Norham, says that "it is now a common practice." A school "for the benefit of the neighbourhood" could scarcely mean anything else than a school in which others than those being trained for the Church were educated. We find also evidence of laymen's children, probably only of noble birth, being educated as boarders in the same schools as young ecclesiastics.

In the burgh records of Edinburgh of date 1498 we have what seems tolerably clear evidence of the existence of schools other than those under church management. Owing to the prevalence of the plague the municipal authorities ordained that all schools should 'scail,' and that landward children should go home and remain there till God provide remedy. We know that at this time the Grammar School and the Canongate School were in existence, but *all* would probably not have been used, if these were the only schools. What was the character of these other schools is not shown, but they were probably 'lecture' and 'dame' schools, in which only elementary subjects were taught, and with which, on that account, the magistrates did not think it necessary to interfere. At the time of the Reformation the Grammar School of Perth was the most celebrated in the kingdom, and was attended by the sons of noblemen and gentlemen who were boarded with Mr Row and instructed in Greek and Hebrew[1].

This slight and very general sketch of the extent to which

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, I, p. 294.

schools were in existence before the Reformation may be appropriately followed by some account of the school authorities on whose action and functions the success of the school mainly depended.

The officials of the schools under church management were Ferleyn, Master, and Scoloc. The Ferleyn was an official of great dignity and importance. Mr Joseph Robertson has, with characteristic thoroughness and accuracy, shown his position with regard to both school and university[1]. "What the Chancellor became in the English and Scoto-English churches from about the 12th century, the Ferleiginn seems to have been in the Irish and Scoto-Irish churches of an earlier age." By derivation it is said to mean 'Man of learning.' It was his duty to attend to the transcription of manuscripts, and copying of deeds, and to rule or teach the schools. In at least one instance, the same person was both Archdeacon and Ferleyn, viz. in St Andrews. "He had," says Mr Robertson, "the right of election of the Master of the Schools of the Metropolitan City[2]. He was conservator of the privileges of the university, and to him belonged the office of investiture of all persons presented to benefices within the diocese of St Andrews[3]. The nomination of the Archdeacon was with the King, and it needs but to consider the list of those who held the office, to see what its dignity and importance must have been, and to be satisfied of the care which was generally taken to choose men of learning for its duties."

The social position of the master or rector of a school, and the high estimation in which the office was held, may be gathered from his being associated with persons of the highest rank in the State, in the Church, and even with the sons of kings, for the settlement of disputes about the ownership of church property. Instances of this are recorded in authentic documents. The rectors of Perth, Ayr, and South Berwick are found associated with high church dignitaries as judges in disputes of this kind. Nor were their functions as prominent citizens confined to questions of church property. They were much in evidence in

[1] *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, v, 72—77.
[2] Act. Parl. Scot. iv, 517. [3] *Ibid.* 493—4.

cases of political importance. Among the guarantors for the payment of the ransom for David II, a prisoner in England, we find the rector of the school of Cupar. In business transactions involving the use of written documents, the rector was doubtless found to be a most valuable person, at a time when writing was almost entirely unknown even to many of the nobility. His importance however was not confined to these very early times. Up to the Reformation he holds a prominent position as a public man. In the 16th century, we find him appointed a deputy for electing the Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and as an examiner of its candidates for graduation. Even the Reformation, which brought about so many other changes, did not affect the social standing of the rector. In 1606 we find that John Ray, and in 1630 Thomas Crawford—both Professors of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh—considered it promotion to vacate their chairs and become rectors of the High School—a remarkable change in the relative dignity of professor and rector. The status of the Scottish rector seems to have been saved from the comparative degradation which fell to the lot of the proctor or rector in Oxford and Cambridge. The humble character of his vocation, and the crude ideas of discipline then prevalent, may be gathered from his being presented, on his appointment to a mastership in the college, with a rod with which he had to make public exhibition of his skill in flagellation[1]. "Then shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde Boy, whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys, and the master in Gramer shall give the Boye a Grote for hys Labour, and another Grote to hym that provydeth the Rode and the Palmer etc. *de singulis*. And thus endythe the Acte in that Facultye." It is evident from this passage that skill in whipping was an important qualification for the office of master. *Shrewde* and *Labour* perhaps require explanation. *Shrewde* formerly meant mischievous or malicious. Hence the purvaying of a boy who, if not at present guilty of any misconduct, was sure to be so sooner or later. *Labour* often occurs in the sense of suffering. A ship, e.g., labours in a storm.

[1] Peacock's *Univ. of Cambridge Observations*, Appendix A, p. xxxvii.

The boy in question suffers from the rod, and the account is squared by his receiving a groat for his suffering.

Erasmus, speaking of England, says "grammarians of his time are 'a race of all men the most miserable,' who grow old at their work surrounded by herds of boys, deafened by continual uproar, and poisoned by a close and foul atmosphere; satisfied however so long as they can overawe the terrified throng by the terrors of their look and speech, and, while they cut them to pieces with ferule, birch, and thong, gratify their own merciless natures at pleasure." Similarly, in a letter written somewhat later, he tells us what difficulty he encountered when he sought to find at Cambridge a second master for Colet's newly founded school at St Paul's, and how a college don, whom he consulted on the subject, sneeringly rejoined—"Who would put up with the life of a schoolmaster who could get his living in any other way[1]."

That this was said by Erasmus early in the 16th century, furnishes a very striking contrast to the social position of the master of the Scottish grammar school of the same period. It is surprising, in view of this description of the grammarian in England, that there seems to have been an adequate supply of candidates for scholastic vacancies.

The relation of the scoloc to the school is not quite so clear. Scolocs are first heard of in 1265, when reference is made to the scoloc lands of Ellon, the old capital of the earldom of Buchan. That scoloc and scholar are identical is evident from contemporary documents. The scoloc, however, was not simply a pupil. He was in some sense an official, a lower grade of churchman, probably of humble origin, a pupil who, by industry and ability, had established a claim to some share in ecclesiastical functions in the absence of the priest, and had acquired a personal interest in the endowment left for his maintenance. The scoloc lands had, in the 14th century, shared the fate of other religious foundations, the greater part being seized by laymen and dealt with by them as an inheritance, the smaller portion by ecclesiastics, who undertook, and, presumably with more or less efficiency, discharged the duties originally contemplated by the endowment. By the middle of the 16th century the designation 'scoloc lands'

[1] Mullinger, vol. I, 345.

had become obsolete. They soon ceased to be closely connected with education, and were held by persons more like Crofters than scholars.

While the records bear that Peebles was the first burgh that took in 1464 the appointment of the master out of the hands of the Church and into its own, it does not appear that education flourished under its superintendence. For eighty years subsequent to 1475, the burgh records are blank in respect of education. Except that the two masters appointed between 1464 and 1475 were churchmen, there is no clear evidence that the schools to which they were appointed were schools for advanced instruction, though they probably were. In 1555, "the bailies are to provide the teacher with a chamber, where it may be got most conveniently, and also with the use of the tolbooth to teach his bairns reading and writing English." It would appear from this, that if the school was a grammar school, it was one to which an elementary or 'lecture' school was attached, a very unusual arrangement. Next year Sir William Tunno[1] was appointed schoolmaster, and the town became bound to "find him an honest chamber at their expense with chimney, closet and necessaries except furnishing[2]." This arrangement did not last, for in January following another master was appointed to teach the grammar school and to provide a chamber for himself. This is the first occasion on which the designation 'Grammar School' occurs in the Peebles Records.

During the next five or six years the educational condition of Peebles was not satisfactory. There were several changes of teachers, about one of whom there is the following entry, "if he teaches the bairns more diligently, wherethrough they conceive more wisdom nor they did of before, the town to have consideration thereof[3]." With regard to another, "the Council ordains the master to wait on the bairns and not to go hunting nor other pleasures in time coming, without licence of the aldermen, failing which, he will be deposed[4]." Such entries as these, combined with the fact that there was no building set apart for the school,

[1] Sir presumably means Dominus or B.A.
[2] *Burgh Records of Peebles.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

and that change of teachers was frequent, suggest a doubt of the efficiency of the management and the expediency of their dispensing with ecclesiastical interference.

It is interesting to note the varying fortunes of towns at different stages of their history, from both an educational and commercial point of view. Ayr is perhaps one of the most notable in this respect. It was early in the field as having in 1233 an important school now represented by the Ayr Academy. It is therefore much more ancient than any of the Scottish universities and 150 years older than Winchester the oldest of the most famous English public schools. The master was appointed a member of a Papal Commission to settle a dispute between Gilbert of Renfrew and the Abbot of Paisley, about a piece of land to which both laid claim. It was also one of the first to have its school recognised as a burgh school, and, to that extent, freed from ecclesiastical government. Ten years before the Reformation, the Town Council appointed the schoolmaster, though elsewhere, as a rule, magistrates bore the expense, but had no share in the management or appointment of the teacher. For several succeeding centuries, there are unfortunately no records of the success of the school, nor is there any explanation of their disappearance, but it may be safely inferred, from the abundance and character of information about the period subsequent to the Reformation, showing liberality of view, intelligent interest in respect of visitation and examination of schools and appointment of teachers, that attention to the subject was continuous and adequate. The present high position of Ayr Academy is a proof that there is no break in the continuity.

The condition of Ayr from a commercial point of view is widely different. Because of its strong castle and excellent harbour, it was created a royal burgh by William the Lyon in a charter of 1202, which is the oldest of those actually constituting a burgh. Though not strictly relevant to our subject, the quotation of a few extracts from Dr Patrick's *Inquiry into the History of Air Burgh School* is perhaps not out of place. "Ayr made a much more conspicuous figure in Christendom and in Scottish affairs in the 13th century, than it came to do in the 18th. Unlike its school, the burgh did not maintain, still less

increase, its dignity and reputation with the centuries. Many great affairs, in war and peace, took place before the eyes of the Ayr burghers and scholars during the century after we first hear of the school's existence. Alexander III often held his court in Ayr. In Ayr, and beside it, William Wallace performed many of his most startling exploits. After his defeat at Falkirk in 1298, the Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert the Bruce, burnt the Castle of Ayr to prevent its being taken by the English. Ayr and Ayrshire were, in quite a peculiar sense, the cradle of Scottish independence. It was in Ayrshire that fortune first smiled on Bruce's struggles for the crown. The year after Bannockburn, it was in St John's Church that the memorable national parliament sat, which settled the crown on Bruce and his heirs for ever. At this time, therefore, Ayr stood in the main track of the national history. It was one of the most important of Scottish towns. In respect of its harbour, its 'goode schipping and skilfull marinaris,' it was next after Leith and Dundee only. It was *the* port of the Clyde, whence ships traded to Ireland, England and France. In 1300, Glasgow, though it had a bishop and cathedral, had only about 1500 inhabitants, and, as late as 1556, ranked (far below Ayr) as eleventh among Scottish burghs. Ayr was practically the capital of the west country and behoved to have a good school."

In the church statutes of Aberdeen reference is made to the existence of schools in the latter half of the 13th century, such as the statute defining the right of the Chancellor to the appointment of a master[1], who shall "know how to teach the boys in grammar as well as in logic," and the witnessing of an ordinance by Master Thomas of Bennam, rector of the schools of Aberdeen. There is, however, little in the burgh records bearing on education till 1418, when the Chancellor collates a master to the grammar school, "a prudent and discreet man, who, being found of good life and laudable conversation, is given corporal and real possession of the benefice[2]." For sixty-one years the records are silent, and even then there is simply an entry that a master is to receive £5 yearly, till he is promoted

[1] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, II, p. 45.
[2] *Burgh Records of Aberdeen.*

to a benefice. For the next thirty years the entries are very varied but not educational[1]. By this time the Town Council had apparently become tired of paying the piper, without having the privilege of calling the tune. They accordingly in 1509 appointed John Merschell master of the grammar school in due form (part of which was a gift of a pair of beads[2]) and ignored the Chancellor who had hitherto appointed the master. Out of this arose a contest between the council and the Chancellor, as to the right of appointment. The particulars of the contention—perhaps the first seed of town and gown antipathies in Scotland—are not known, but apparently the town had the best of it, for Merschell retained his office till 1523[3].

In 1538 the council appointed Master Hew Munro, and asked him—perhaps as a matter of courtesy—to go to the Chancellor for his admission conform to the King's command. The Chancellor, however, was not satisfied at being even ceremoniously deprived of what he claimed as his right, and had chosen for the office Master Robert Skene, a discreet and suitable man, whom he asked the council to receive thankfully. Here again details of the struggle between the Church and council are wanting, but the latter were again successful, and Munro remained master till 1550 when he retired with a "pension for his whole life for teaching the bairns, till they provide him with means of living of that value[4]." From this time forward the council kept the

[1] All men between the ages of 16 and 60 are ordained to be ready for war, and watch the town against "our ald enemies of Ingland." Another ordains that "no swine must go at large" during the Queen's visit in 1501. Another records that Philip Belman was fined "for the sellinge of ane apill for ane penny, quhan he micht have sauld thre for ane penny."

[2] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 31. The old name for a rosary was 'a pair of beads.' The Prioresse in Chaucer had "a peire of bedes, gauded al with grene" *Prologue*, 159.

[3] Between 1523 and 1538 the condition of the school seems to have been unsatisfactory in respect of both decayed buildings and poor attendance. "In 1529 Bisset, the master of the school, is to receive £10 Scots yearly to pay his board till he is provided with a benefice of ten marks Scots...because now the school is deserted and destitute of bairns and it will take a long time before it comes to such perfection that he may get profit thereof."

[4] This Town Council seem to have made full use of their powers. They fined a man six shillings and four pence, for having his bonnet on his head in the wedding kirk door; and they ordained that "no tailor shall sell any cloth, but only made breeks and boxes of tartan." No reason is assigned for the preference given to the two latter commodities.

appointment of master in their own hands. As successor to Munro, James Chalmer was elected "during the town's will." He retained office for seven years when he was made regent in the new college of Old Aberdeen.

It is tolerably clear that Dundee, though not claiming to be an educational centre, had gained a good reputation in the 15th century, when Boece the historian was a pupil in the grammar school[1]. On the approach of the Reformation an impulse was given to education, and the Dundee schools began to flourish. In the year before the Reformation we have proof of educational activity, and of the healthy interest shown by the Town Council. The master of the grammar school was in favour of the new faith, but a number of the burgesses favoured the old. These took offence and removed their children without paying their fees. The council were in sympathy with the master's views, for it was "ordainit that na masters nor doctors, fra this day furth, tak upon them to receive into their schools ony bairns in Maister Makgibbon's school, without Maister Thomas' testimonial that he is thankfully payit of ilk ane of them that happens to depart for his lawbours made upon them, and gif the other masters or doctors fail herein, they sall be compellit to pay of their awn proper guids the debt owing to Maister Thomas Makgibbon[2]."

Though there are references in the burgh records to the existence of schools in Edinburgh in the 15th century, the first mention of the grammar school occurs in 1519, when Vocat was master. Becoming disabled by advancing age, he was succeeded by Henryson in 1524, and thereafter the record of the school is continuous. Henryson was appointed for life. His successor was Adam Melville of whom little is known, but it is supposed he was of the same family as the famous Andrew Melville of whom M^cCrie speaks as "the first Scotsman who added a taste for elegant literature to an extensive acquaintance with theology." This Adam must have been either a boaster or a very remarkable teacher—probably the former, since little is

[1] If Harry the Minstrel is to be trusted, which is doubtful, William Wallace was educated in Dundee,

"In till Dundé Wallace to scule thai send,
Quhill he of witt full worthely was kend."

[2] Maxwell's *History of Old Dundee*, pp. 87, 88.

known of him—for he bound himself to make his scholars perfect grammarians in the short space of three years. On this engagement Steven the historian of the Edinburgh High School remarks, "It is much to be regretted that we have no means of ascertaining what were Adam Melville's ideas of grammatical perfection, and that the process, by which he attained a consummation so devoutly to be wished, has not been handed down to his official successors[1]."

So far it does not appear that the school had a local habitation, but only a name. About the middle of the 16th century, however, we are told that a venerable mansion at the foot of Blackfriar's Wynd, once the town residence of Cardinal Beaton, was hired for the school. Soon, thereafter, the scholars were removed to a house, which had been built for their better accommodation, near the present site of the university. It is not clear whether this house was built by the magistrates, or temporarily hired, but the evidence, such as it is, points to its being hired. It is however definitely stated that in 1552 "James Henderson, a public-spirited burgess of Edinburgh, proposed to the Town Council that, for certain privileges mentioned, he would build for the town 'ane fair scule to mak pepill cum to the toun.' It is warrantable to believe that, as there is no mention of this offer having been refused, it was accepted. "This," says Mr Grant, "is probably the first of those educational benefactions which have made Edinburgh a name in the history of education[2]." If Mr Henderson's aim in making people come to the town was successful, as it probably was, a fashion was set which has been followed for upwards of 300 years with excellent results. There is probably no other city of similar size, into which so many children of both sexes and all ages flock for education from outside, and no city which has been so abundantly enriched with educational benefactions. Before the establishment of higher grade schools in 1900 there was no other city that had so many secondary schools, fully equipped, charging moderate fees and, in respect of local distribution, conveniently within the reach of every boy and girl of average health and activity. Further

[1] Steven's *High School of Edin.* p. 5.
[2] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 69.

there were as many bursaries connecting the ordinary with the secondary school, as there were boys and girls intellectually qualified to make a profitable use of advanced education. It is not too much to say that any lad in or within easy reach of Edinburgh had a university career open to him, if he had the requisite ability and pluck. If he was wanting in either, the university was no place for him. To complete this estimate it is necessary to add what is a simple corollary to the foregoing remarks, that, if there was one corner of Scotland, where the tacking on of a secondary department to an ordinary school was unnecessary, that corner was Edinburgh. The function of higher grade schools will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Though Henderson's was probably the first educational benefaction made to Edinburgh, there are records of similar bequests of earlier date by public spirited donors to Glasgow, Crail and Kirkwall[1]. These mortifications however have been diverted from the purpose for which they were intended, but when and how they were lost to the schools is not recorded[2].

It does not seem necessary to discuss in detail the action of all the towns in which grammar schools existed before the Reformation. What has been said of Peebles, Ayr, Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh, and the incidental references to Perth and Montrose, practically represent all that is typical of pre-reformation schools. A considerable number of those towns which have now grammar schools had none before 1560, and the records of some who had are meagre and comparatively valueless.

Besides the schools connected with the Church all over the country, there were three classes of schools more directly under its superintendence, from which grammar schools mainly sprang —cathedral, abbey, and collegiate schools. Those connected with cathedrals were under the practically absolute rule of the Chancellor; those connected with abbeys under that of the Abbot who represented the Bishop: and the collegiate schools were in connection with college churches, and "were instituted mainly for performing divine service and singing masses for the

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 34—36.

[2] Bequests for charitable objects are, in Scots Law phraseology, called Mortifications.

souls of the founder's patrons and their friends[1]." Their function appears to have been religious rather than educational. There were thirty-three collegiate churches in Scotland. Mr Grant makes reference to only two of them—Crail and Biggar. In the former, Sir William Myrtoun intended "to found a school for teaching grammar, but his intention does not appear to have been carried into effect." Subsequently, however, Sir David Bowman founded a grammar school, and appointed a kinsman to be preceptor of it. In the charter granted for it the outstanding motive was "the offering of prayers for the prosperity and safety of James V, Mary his queen, David Archbishop of St Andrews, his own soul, those of his father and mother and brother," while nothing is said about education[2].

The college of Biggar was founded by Lord Fleming, Great Chamberlain, for a provost, eight prebendaries, four singing boys, and six poor men; one of the prebendaries being teacher of the grammar school. Apparently nothing is known about the school.

The Church which up to the beginning of the 16th century had the superintendence of both church and burgh schools began to lose its influence, and the burgh authorities gradually claimed and obtained control over them. In this Peebles set the example in the 15th, and Ayr in the 16th century.

Symptoms of dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical authority and of the coming reformation began to show themselves. This was very clearly seen at Perth where a friar was preaching against heretics in presence of a large school. The boys thinking they detected in his manner and arguments a resemblance to a preacher of whom Sir David Lyndsay had given a description in his *Satyre of the Three Estates*, commenced hissing so vigorously that the friar was frightened and ran out of the church.

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 24.

[2] Charter chest of Crail. In the deed there is one strange provision: "Master John the priest and his successors are forbidden to be gamblers, card-players, drunkards, night-watchmen, or to have a housekeeper or public concubine." This prohibition is clearly in the interest of sound morality, but that it should have been thought necessary, suggests suspicion about the character and conduct of John and his successors. As to the night-watchmen, it is difficult to make out why a priest should wish to be a night-watchman, or if he should wish it, why it should be forbidden, unless his object was to shirk his work next day.

We have here, as elsewhere in the attitude of the laity, indubitable evidence that ecclesiastical influence over education was on the wane, that supremacy in the management of schools, for which the Church had so hardly and so beneficially struggled, and which they had so long enjoyed, was passing from their hands. It may be said, and with truth, that the aim of the clergy was not education itself, with its power of sweetening life, promoting culture, and strengthening the commonwealth, but education as a means of adding to the power and ensuring the stability of the Church. The Church could hardly be blamed for this in an age when it was "thought baseness to write fair." It is certainly the case that, in the 12th and several succeeding centuries, the only schools of which we have any record were invariably connected with ecclesiastical institutions. What may have been the attitude of laymen we have little means of knowing, but the Church at least had that motive. Whatever the motive, it is beyond question that to it, in those early ages, education owed its maintenance and advancement. It is further worthy of remark, that this traditional connection between the Church and education came down to our own times, till it was much weakened by the bill of 1872. Till then, ministers were the only men who, as a class, watched over education. If they did little, which generally is not true, they at any rate did more than others. Till then, the minister and teacher, the Church and the school were closely and, as a rule, harmoniously and beneficially connected. Nor can it even now be said that their zeal has grown cold. They have now only a share in the oversight of schools, not because they were tired of exercising full responsibility, and gave it up, but because parliamentary action, in the establishment of school-boards by popular election, left them only a small portion of what had been, for more than twelve centuries, their almost exclusive possession. But the tradition still survives. The Church is proportionately more fully represented on school-boards than any other single profession. Clergymen realise more fully than any other section of the community Ninian Winzet's estimate of the importance of education. His quaintly expressed opinion is perhaps worth quoting.

"I judgeit the teaching of the youthhood in virtue and science, next after the authority with the ministers of justice, under it and after the angelical office of godly pastors, to obtain the third principal place most commodious and necessar to the kirk of God. Yea, sa necessar thought I it, that the due charge and office of the prince and prelate without it, is to them, after my judgment, wondrous painful and almost insupportable, and yet little commodious to the commonwealth, to unfeignet obedience and true godlyness, when the people is rude and ignorant; and contrary, by help of it to the youthhood, the office of all potestates is light to them and pleasant to the subject[1]."

A modern educationist says much the same with admirable terseness, "A sound system of education is the first condition of national greatness."

We have, in the history of education in Scotland, abundant proof that the learned Winzet's estimate of the importance of education was that held by the Church generally, not only in the 16th century, but from the earliest period about which we have fairly trustworthy information. In this connection it would be most unfair to withhold full recognition of the part played by municipal authorities in the promotion of education. While the Church claimed, and with only a few exceptions possessed, the right of management and appointment of masters, the expenses generally, including the providing and upkeep of buildings, was met by Town Councils from the common good of the burgh, or by voluntary assessments imposed by the burgesses, or by fees or other perquisites. In some cases the salaries of the masters were paid by endowments from church lands, but these were of rare occurrence. Not till the 15th century did the burghs claim to have a voice in appointing the master. That, up to that time, they submitted to taxation without representation is a strong proof of either the power of the Church, or of the educational zeal of the burgesses, or of both.

There are few things more remarkable in the history of civilisation than the thirst for education at the beginning of the 15th century, a thirst unquestionably created at first by the Church, but now largely shared by laymen and Town Councils.

[1] Winzet, *Third Tractate*, I, p. 23, Hewison's edition S.T.S.

From the church schools and not from Acts of Parliament sprang our burgh schools, and from these again our universities. Kings, Popes, and Parliaments were heartily responsive to the demand for higher education[1], and towards the end of the century schools were established in every considerable town in Scotland. The receipt of the Bull for the foundation of St Andrews University was made the occasion of universal festivity and rejoicing.

In 1496 the famous act already referred to was passed, ordaining that all burgesses and men of substance should keep their eldest sons at school, till they were competently founded and had perfect Latin.

But enthusiasm for higher education was not confined to Kings, Parliaments, and Town Councils. Outside and below these recognised authorities private persons started schools which these authorities had great difficulty in suppressing. In Edinburgh and elsewhere burghers were forbidden to send their children to any but the principal grammar school, under a penalty of ten shillings for each person neglecting this order[2]. In Ayr the private teacher was ordered to pay over to the teacher of the grammar school the fees received from private pupils[3]. The motive for this, right or wrong, was not objection to the spread of education, but the welfare of the burgh school through the maintenance of the position and dignity of the master. It was held, with some show of reason, that by such regulations men of higher education would be induced to offer themselves for the position of master, and the interests of education be promoted.

As a rule the prohibition of private schools applied only to those in which the province of the grammar school was invaded. Schools in which "only grace buke, prymar, and plane donat" were taught were not forbidden. The grace buke and prymar were meant for religious instruction. What 'plane' donat was as a school subject is matter for conjecture, and perhaps meant such elementary Latin as would prepare for admission into the public grammar school. The origin of the name 'donat' is no

[1] *Exchequer Rolls*, 99.
[2] *Burgh Records of Edinburgh.*
[3] *Burgh Records of Ayr.*

mystery. Aelius Donatus was one of the earliest grammarians who lived in Rome in the 4th century, and was the author of the most important school book in the Middle Ages. He was also the author of valuable commentaries on Terence and Virgil[1]. John Despauter was another famous scholar and teacher who lived from 1460 to 1520, and had a large share in reforming the text-books of Latin grammar then in use, and in popularising the study of Latin[2].

The passing of the Act of 1542, which granted the privilege of having the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, not only hastened the religious movement for which the public mind had been for some time preparing itself, but had a powerful influence on the spread of education. The Archbishop of Glasgow, for himself and in the name of all the bishops in Scotland, seeing doubtless that the act would injure the Church, dissented till a provincial council of the clergy should decide if such an act was necessary. Sir David Lyndsay thought it was.

> "Bot let us haif the Bukis necessare
> To common weill and our salvation,
> Justlye translated in our toung vulgare."

It is quite impossible to arrive at any satisfactory estimate of the emoluments of teachers of schools previous to the Reformation. In the first place, there are no means of comparing the purchasing power of money then and now, even if a definite amount were stated for a definite period of service. In many cases the amount paid is stated in marks, pounds, or shillings, but the period for which it is given is not mentioned. In many cases the amount is not given, and all that is stated is that the council have ordered the master to be paid yearly, or termly, or half quarterly. In other cases, the master is to "have all the school, and that those who put any bairns to him should pay him a year's payment," which seems as if he had nothing to depend on but the fees. In others, he is to receive a certain sum "besides his daily portions" which probably means partial or total board. In some there is a fixed sum with the addition of a capitation grant. In a number of cases, the council

[1] Sandys' *Hist. of Classical Scholarship*, I, p. 230, ed. 1906.
[2] *Ibid.* II, p. 212.

guarantee a certain sum yearly, until he is provided with a benefice of a certain annual value. In some cases, a schoolroom is provided for the master, in others, he must provide it for himself. In the end of the 16th century, education in Peebles seems, as has been already said, to have been in rather a bad way. The authorities there had recourse to "payment by results," but we have no means of knowing whether its unsatisfactory condition was the cause or the result of this mode of payment. It would appear from the burgh records generally of Orkney, Aberdeen, Peebles, Haddington, Edinburgh and Ayr that there was no fixed education rate, but a kind of voluntary assessment payable by freemen "according to their estates."

Though it is obviously difficult to determine even the approximate emoluments, there is reason for believing that as a rule they were regarded as sufficient. The instances in which the master complains of insufficient remuneration are few, and there does not appear to have been any difficulty in finding candidates for vacant posts. Contentment with a possibly small salary may be to some extent accounted for by the fact that the school was, especially in Aberdeenshire, a stepping stone to the Church. There are frequent references to cases in which the Town Councils guarantee to the master a fixed amount till he is provided with a benefice. In 1559 John Hennerson, master of Aberdeen Grammar School, was admitted to the chaplaincy of St Michael's altar. There are many similar notices. This connection between the school and church has in the three Dick Bequest counties—Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray—survived to our own time. Formerly, but to a smaller extent in later years, the parish schoolmasters in these counties were in many cases licentiates of the Church, looking forward to, and often obtaining, the status of a parish minister. It is not irrelevant to remark that to this circumstance the superiority of the Dick Bequest schools is largely due. In the sequel the superiority of these schools will be dealt with in tolerably full detail.

In many cases the appointment of masters was for life, *ad vitam aut culpam,* but it was by no means uncommon to fix a year, or "during the Town's will" as part of the bargain.

Peebles has been already mentioned as a burgh which was

not uniformly successful in its management of school matters. In the 16th century the same burgh furnishes two examples of what involves *culpa* and dismissal. The schoolmaster is laid under this obligation, that if it be found that he "pass from teaching the children in the school for four days without licence of the bailies and council, he shall lose his balance of fees due, and be discharged of his service incontinently thereafter[1]."

The training of choristers for the service of the Church was no doubt attended to from very early times. One of the earliest sang schools of which there is any record is that of Aberdeen about the middle of the 13th century. The importance attached to the sang school is shown by its being provided by statute that on all greater feasts there shall attend four singing boys—two for carrying the tapers, and two the incense—who will be present at matins and great mass, and that the master is enjoined to secure their regular attendance[2]. As it was intended only for the choir, nothing else was taught in it but "music, meaners, and vertew," and at first sang schools existed only in cathedrals. We find however that, in the 15th and 16th centuries, such schools were found in connection with abbeys and in almost all large burghs, that, in addition to music, English, arithmetic and writing were also taught, and that the instruction was not confined to the choristers. The Aberdeen school had a high reputation. The master was appointed for life, and all the expenses of the school were met by the magistrates. The salary of the master was here, as in some other burghs, upwards of 20 marks Scots annually[3].

The choristers sometimes were of the poorer class. In 1541 the Aberdeen council ordered 40 shillings to be paid to each of two boys in the sang school to help to buy them clothes.

In the burgh records of Edinburgh in the middle of the

[1] *Burgh Records of Peebles.*

[2] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, II, p. 49.

[3] The importance of the master of the sang school is found in the solemnity of the contract entered into on his appointment. He obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and feral days, for a salary of 24 marks Scots annually. *Book of Bon-Accord*, p. 124.

16th century, sums of £10 and £4 are mentioned as fees paid to different masters of the sang school, but the periods for which these payments are made are not stated. The parish clerk of Ayr in 1551 offers to teach a sang school within the burgh, instructing "neighbours' bairns or others whomsoever, for payment." Such notices from their indefiniteness are of no value.

Going back to the 12th century we find that 'grammar,' which meant all classical literature, was the principal subject of instruction in schools. By degrees the horizon widened and in the 15th century, law, theology, and philosophy were added to the curriculum. The earliest library of which there is a record is that of the Culdees in Lochleven Abbey, which consisted of 16 books, 4 of which were for the services of the Church. The others were portions of the Old and New Testaments, and commentaries upon them, the works of Origen, St Bernard, etc., all of purely theological type. The next is that belonging to the Glasgow Cathedral, consisting of 165 books catalogued in 1432. Many of them were required for the services of the Church, and others were treatises on law, theology, metaphysics, and natural philosophy. There were a few Latin, but no Greek books. In view of the amount of labour and time expended on the transcription of so many books, this may well be thought a large library. The next is that of the monastery of Kinloss[1], of which Ferrerius made use in his teaching. It is not so large, but of much the same character as the cathedral library of Glasgow.

There is little definite information as to the amount and character of the instruction given in schools in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is probable that it did not go much, if at all, beyond the contents of such documents as are described in the catalogue of the library in Lochleven. There is however evidence of great and steady expansion in the list of the library belonging to Glasgow Cathedral in the 15th and in that of Kinloss in the 16th century[1]. That the industry which went to the production of 165 volumes, many of them dealing with science, law and philosophy, should have failed to raise to a higher level the

[1] *Record of the Monastery of Kinloss*, p. 60.

standard of instruction in the schools is to the last degree improbable. But as to this we are not left to conjecture. There is authentic record that the master prelected on Terence, Virgil and Cicero; that pupils were forbidden to converse in the vernacular, and had to choose Latin, French, Gaelic, Greek, or Hebrew. This was doubtless a counsel of perfection. It is exceedingly improbable that either Greek or Hebrew would be chosen as the vehicle of conversation. Greek was very little known till the 16th century and Hebrew probably not at all. But that another language than their own was imperative implies a striving after liberal culture of most satisfactory promise. It is certain that even in the 14th century crowds of Scottish students went to the University of Paris in search of a higher education than could be obtained at home. In Paris they must have conversed in either French or Latin, and probably the latter, that being the language common to the whole academic world. If Latin was generally chosen, we should be disposed to pardon Latinity of questionable purity, in consideration of the mental discipline which it secured. We have it on the authority of Knox that in 1543 Greek was better known by members of parliament than by the clergy[1], and Andrew Melville was taught Greek in Montrose before the Reformation.

It is perhaps necessary to accept with a *grain of salt* the account given of a visit by James V and his Queen to Aberdeen in 1540. "They were received with diverse triumphs and plays made by the town, university, and schools, where there were exercise and disputations in all kinds of sciences with diverse orations made in Greek, Latin, and other languages, quhilk was mickell commendit bi the king and quene and all thair company[2]."

The commendation was probably courteous rather than critical. James V was a poor scholar. Bellenden's translation of Livy was made for the King's benefit, who was "nocht perfyte in the Latin toung." Accounts vary considerably both as to the time when the teaching of Greek was introduced, and the extent to which it was taught. Erskine of Dun is said to have

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation*, 34.
[2] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xxiv.

been so proficient that, when he entered St Andrews as a student, he could read the logics of Aristotle in Greek, "quhilk was a wounder to the regents of the college that he was sa fyne a schollar," whereas in 1574 James Melville says that he was taught only the A B C and the simple declensions of Greek in St Andrews, and that the regent "went no farder[1]." Again John Row is said to have taught Greek and Hebrew in the grammar school of Perth shortly before the Reformation[2].

Latin grammars by Donat and Despauter were, long before the Reformation, taught in schools. Despauter was a Flemish grammarian, but John Vaus, a Scotsman, was the author of another grammar printed in Paris in 1522. He was master of the grammar school of Aberdeen. The book exhibits at length his method of teaching grammar. Considerations of space forbid quotation of the details in which he explained the use of the parts of speech, of tenses, cases, and other grammatical minutiae. Suffice it that his explanations and definitions are singularly accurate.

The printing of certain school books was a monopoly granted by Mary of Guise in 1559. A list of the books generally used in schools is given in the deed granting the monopoly. The titles of upwards of a dozen are given, several having for their object the teaching and learning of the Scottish language[3]. It is evident from this that the Scottish dialect of the English language was at a very early date taught in the schools.

In Melville's *Diary* we have a record of the curriculum followed in the schools of Logie and Montrose before the Reformation. At the age of seven in Logie instruction in religious subjects, Latin, and French vocables was given. This was followed by etymology and syntax, the colloquia of Erasmus, Virgil, Horace, and Cicero. After five years' attendance, Melville

[1] Melville's *Diary*, p. 30, ed. 1842.

[2] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, II, pp. 15, 16.

[3] "Ane short introduction elementar degestit into sevin breve taibles, for the commodius expeditioun of thame that ar desirous to reid and write the Scottis toung.....(eight lines giving the names of books used). Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and Latin; Ane regement for educatioun of young gentillmen in literature and virtuous exercitioun; Ane A B C for Scottismen to rede the Frenche toung, with an exhortatioun to the nobles of Scotland to favour thair ald freindis; The geneologie of Inglishe Britonis." Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 56.

was sent to Montrose, where he was again drilled in the rudiments of Latin, in the first and second parts of Sebastian's grammar, and read the *Phormio* of Terence, the *Georgics* of Virgil and was exercised in composition and "diverse other things[1]." Unless a great deal is covered by "diverse other things," it would seem that either the five years' course in Logie had been too ambitious, and the teaching lacking in solidity, or that the Montrose school was not sufficiently progressive. But there does not appear ground for either alternative, for on the one hand, the teacher at Logie is especially commended for the accuracy of his teaching, and on the other, the Montrose school had a high reputation, as being the school in which Andrew Melville was taught Greek, while that language was elsewhere in Scotland little known. This is shown from the rare occurrence of early Greek books in private libraries and the catalogues of Scottish booksellers, and yet it is certain that Scottish scholars like Boece and Buchanan, who were in the forefront of learning on the Continent, ultimately returned to their own country. Florence was the first university in Europe to provide in 1360 a professor of Greek[2], and early in the 15th century Greek was taught in Paris, Bologna, Padua, Salamanca and Oxford[3].

The only extant account of the way in which a school was conducted is that of the grammar school of Aberdeen. The directory for this school was printed at the end of John Vaus's *Rudiments of Grammar*. The provisions on every point bearing on school life are almost painfully minute. For every hour from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening occupation is specified. The first duty on entering the school is prayer on bended knee. When a certain amount of work has been finished, the preceptor enters and punishes, either by word or strokes, the deficients. At 8 there is a public prelection of all the lessons by the preceptor. Then breakfast, and at 10 a private prelection by the assistant masters. At 11.30 a second prelection by the head master on Terence, Virgil or Cicero, and at 12, dinner. Before 2 the class prelections are heard and errors noted by assistant masters, who are requested to see that they do not them-

[1] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 13, 14, 17.
[2] Rashdall, II, 49. [3] *Ibid.* II, pp. 20 and 30.

selves the things which it is their official duty to blame others for doing. At 4 the boys rehearse the work of the day to their tutors. The head master will hear one or other class besides the highest, when it suits him. From 5 to 6 there will be disputations, then prayers. Neophytes and scholars in the rudiments must maintain a Pythagorean silence for one year. The table of confession must be learnt by heart, and some progress must be made in arithmetic. All will speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French or Irish, and never in the vernacular, with the exception of those who know Latin. Every scholar will carry his own rod. The family will not deal with strangers, nor any grammarian with a dialectician.

These in a somewhat shortened form are the rules for the conduct of the Aberdeen Grammar School. We can only guess at what is meant by public and private prelections and disputations, and the form in which they were carried out. Nor does the method by which a Pythagorean silence was maintained lie entirely on the surface. The custom of every scholar carrying his own rod, and the prohibition against intercourse between the family and strangers, and between grammarians and dialecticians, probably have reference to conditions no longer existing[1].

Laws also are laid down against bartering or buying without the consent of the master. There must be no gambling for books, money, clothes or dinner, but the older boys may stake leather pins or thongs, but dice may not be used. Bullying is forbidden, and the offenders will be punished. If two boys fight, both will be punished, but if instead of words any one gives blows, he alone who gives the blows will be punished. Old pupils who tempt younger ones to transgress shall receive double punishment. Among the offences which subject the pupil to punishment are inattention, lateness, unpreparedness, restlessness, talking, and using the vernacular.

The relation of schoolwork to Sunday is found in the burgh records of Dundee and elsewhere, and we find that for the teachers Sunday was not a day of rest. They had to attend to the behaviour of the pupils in the same way as on week-days, and see that they neither play, cry, nor dispute during the

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 61, and *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, v, 44, preface.

preaching, under pain of being punished with all rigour. It is also ordained that if bairns break any 'glasen windows' the parents must repair them at their own expense[1]. It is to be hoped that we are not compelled to infer from this that window-breaking, and generally riotous conduct, was especially characteristic of Sunday.

At this stage it is probably convenient to give a summary of what has been attempted in the foregoing pages.

It has been shown that, from a very early period, schools of various kinds existed over the greater portion of Scotland, and that, in the more important towns, there was more or less complete provision for advanced education. Teachers were not daunted by their being sometimes obliged to find for themselves rooms in which to conduct their classes. Schools of this higher type were invariably under the care of the Church, which had for its aim its own stability, and the advancement of spiritual culture and correct life, rather than intellectual development. The pitch of the instruction varied considerably, but from the books used we may infer that it was fairly high. Latin, doubtless of questionable purity, was generally the vehicle of communication in both class-room and conversation. The precise period of the introduction of Greek is somewhat doubtful, but it is safe to say that it had got a footing about the middle of the 16th century. At first, the only pupils were candidates for service in the Church, but, in the 14th and 15th centuries, laymen were both teachers and pupils in the schools under ecclesiastical management. Till the 15th century, the authorities in cathedrals, abbeys, and collegiate churches had the exclusive control of education and appointment of teachers, while the expense of maintenance was met by municipal funds. It was about this time that some Town Councils claimed, and after a struggle obtained, the right to appoint head masters to the grammar schools. There is evidence of the existence of other schools of a lower type, with which neither the ecclesiastical nor municipal bodies interfered, but the welfare of the grammar schools was carefully guarded by both. Adventure schools were forbidden to teach any subjects which were considered the special province of the grammar school.

[1] *Burgh Records of Dundee.*

The object of such prohibition was the maintenance of the prestige and high social position of the grammar school master, which was one of great dignity and importance. We have seen that there was the heartiest cooperation among all classes, from the King to the burgher, in promoting education. The influence of the Church was however becoming weaker. Its policy was one of defence not of attack. Its aim was to establish orthodoxy rather than search for truth, and the means by which it meant to accomplish this was dogma, not reason. It was consequently not progressive enough to satisfy the demands of a people, who had been touched by the great intellectual movement which accompanied the transition from the middle ages to modern times, and which received stimulation and activity from a variety of sources—the spread of vernacular literature, the invention of printing, the enlightenment and freer exercise of thought imported into their native country by Scottish students who had resided in continental universities. In these circumstances, the barren subtleties of scholastic philosophy, which did not touch the problems of practical life, could not hold their ground against reason, which is essentially free and makes for progress. Hence the foundation of the three pre-reformation universities which, we shall see in a future chapter, were established in response to a popular demand.

It is impossible to compare the emoluments of teachers in those early times with those of the present day, but from the fact that comparatively few complaints were made of insufficient salaries, and that little difficulty was found in filling vacancies, it may be inferred that the payment was fairly adequate. The tenure of office was oftener than not *ad vitam aut culpam.* Sang schools also existed from very early times, but there is not any record about the character and quality of the music. However narrow, from one point of view, were the labours of the Church in promoting education, we should be indeed ungrateful not to recognise that to the Church we owe the beginnings of that which has been, and still is, our proudest boast—a system of education that can boldly challenge comparison with that of any other country.

CHAPTER II

UNIVERSITIES. GENERAL REMARKS. FIRST PERIOD

So far the condition of pre-reformation schools has been described with only an incidental reference to the universities. The origin, constitution, and management of the latter during the same period now fall to be considered. This necessitates more or less detailed reference to English and continental universities, whose foundation preceded those of Scotland, and with which Scotland had more or less intercourse. We have seen that as early as the 14th century Scottish students who sought for more advanced education than could be got at home, went in great numbers to England and the Continent, and returned to occupy important educational positions in their native land.

A Scots College was founded in Paris by a Bishop of Moray, and Scotsmen had a 'Nation' to themselves in the University of Padua[1]. This intercourse with England and the Continent was doubtless accompanied by a widening of the intellectual horizon, and by degrees led to the establishment of universities at home. It is not necessary for the purpose of this work to treat of what is legendary and untrustworthy, or discuss the origin of the University of Salerno, of which nothing is known except that it was a famous medical school in the 9th century. Neither are we concerned with the probability, or rather the improbability, of the University of Paris having been founded by a Scotsman. All such institutions have been a gradual growth in response to human needs and the demands of Christian civilisation, and the earliest of them belong more to legend than to

[1] Rashdall, vol. II, Part I, p. 296.

history. In the middle ages up to the time of the Reformation they were strictly ecclesiastical institutions, for the founding of which the sanction of the Pope was indispensable. Omitting the legendary, we go far enough back for our purpose by referring to Bologna and Paris, which existed in the 12th century, the specialty of the former being canon and civil law, and of the latter, scholastic philosophy. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, St Andrews, and Aberdeen were modelled on that of Paris, that of Glasgow mainly on that of Bologna.

In the 13th century Paris was the centre of intellectual activity in Europe, and thither Englishmen who aimed at a reputation for learning found their way. But Oxford and Cambridge were also well to the front, and there were similar large migrations of Paris students to these seats of learning.

Institutions for the promotion of higher learning were designated by the terms *studium generale* or *universitas*. These designations indicate not boundlessness in respect of the number of subjects taught, but in respect of local and territorial expansion. Originally *universitas* had no reference to the range of studies. Professor Malden in his *Origin of the Universities* says "In the language of the civil law all corporations were called *universitates*, as forming one whole out of many individuals. In the German jurisconsults *universitas* is the word for a corporate town. In Italy it was applied to the incorporated trades in the cities. In ecclesiastical language the term was sometimes applied to a number of churches united under the superintendence of one archdeacon[1]."

It was not till towards the end of the 14th century that it came to mean a corporation of teachers and scholars. Such a corporation was in medieval times called a *studium generale*. "It is necessary however," says Mr Mullinger, "to bear in mind that universities, in the earlier times, had not infrequently a vigorous virtual existence long before they obtained legal recognition, and it is equally necessary to remember that hostels, halls, and colleges with complete courses of instruction in all the usual branches of learning, as well as degrees and examinations,

[1] Prof. Malden, p. 13: *Origin of Universities and Academical Degrees* (London, 1835).

were by no means essential features in the medieval conception of a university."

The customs of universities have undergone many changes between early times and the present day. At their commencement Oxford and Cambridge were scarcely different from what the Scottish and continental universities are now. The students were taught in the university, but lived where they pleased. By and by some colleges both in this country and abroad provided board for the undergraduate with a view to more strict supervision of life and conduct. This however has been departed from everywhere except in Oxford and Cambridge, but there too within comparatively recent years admission is given to unattached students, whose chief connection with the university is attendance at lectures and examinations. Roman Catholic theological students as a rule live together. They do so in Freiburg in Breisgau, and elsewhere, and call their house a 'convict' or 'seminar.'

In no respect is the conduct of the student so remarkable as in the stay-at-home habit of the modern when contrasted with the wandering life of the medieval student. As a rule, though there are exceptions, a Scottish student of the present day knows but one *alma mater*. Formerly he roamed about over England, France, Germany, and Italy, at his own sweet will, or in pursuit of the learning for which each university was most celebrated. Germans and Belgians generally attend more than one university if they are first-rate students. We are told by a monk of the 12th century, who had evidently no high opinion of medieval learning, that "the scholars are wont to roam around the world and visit all its cities till much learning makes them mad; for in Paris they seek liberal arts, in Orleans authors, at Salerno gallipots, at Toledo demons, and in no place decent manners."

Migrations of students between Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris arose from very trifling causes. On the occasion of a sanguinary struggle in 1261 between the North and South factions in Cambridge, in which the townsmen took sides, a body of the students betook themselves to Northampton Within about seventy years afterwards a similar migration took place from Oxford to Stamford. Both migrations were tem-

porary, and the result was that a statute was passed, forbidding the establishment of a university except in Cambridge and Oxford[1].

The large migrations of Scottish students to the English and foreign universities, and of French students to Oxford and Cambridge, are clear proofs of the cosmopolitan meaning attached to *universitas*. The number of Scottish students in Paris in the 14th century was so great as to attract the attention of the authorities. It is not strange that, in view of this and the inconvenience and expense of travelling, the establishment of a university at home was thought desirable.

Even in 1522 when John Vaus went to Paris to have his Grammar published, he tells us that his journey was attended "with the greatest risks by land and sea, and by dangers from wicked pirates." The description given of student life in Paris at this time, if furnished by a writer less trustworthy than Thurot or Denifle, would be thought incredible. Discipline seems to have been entirely disregarded. The students frequented cabarets and disreputable haunts, cheated the freshmen, associated with scoundrels, patrolled the streets at night in arms, defied the law, committed murders and robberies; festive occasions became orgies of drunkenness and debauchery, unoffending citizens were assaulted, and games of dice were played on church altars[2]. This lawless life was the almost legitimate outcome of the students' environment. Some lived in boarding houses attached to the colleges, others in private lodgings. In even the best of the former food was poor, and in some of the smaller colleges, both unwholesome and scanty. The accommodation was wretched, and suggested a search for enjoyment elsewhere than in the college. The case of those who lived in lodgings was still worse, for the lodgings generally were in slums inhabited by only the vicious or the unfortunate. But in Paris a student might quarter himself on any ordinary citizen, and even had the right, if his host pursued a noisy occupation, to force him to carry it on elsewhere.

[1] Mullinger's *Univ. of Cambridge*, p. 135.
[2] Thurot, p. 40.

The accounts we have of student life in England and Scotland are free from the absolute hooliganism ascribed by Thurot to the Parisian student, but our record is not immaculate. We must plead guilty to periodical outbreaks between town and gown, sometimes disgracefully riotous, and in a few cases accompanied by loss of life. Students have in all ages been credited with a certain amount of bohemianism and disregard of the conventions of social life, but it would be unfair to infer that the majority are bohemians. The escapades of a few of the more restless spirits bring them out into the open, but the peaceful plodding of the earnest student does not in any way challenge publicity. Hence the comparatively few give to the whole body a reputation which they do not deserve. We must also take into account the surroundings of the student in this early age. The modern youth, whether in England or Scotland, reaches his university comfortably in a few hours; in the middle ages he took as many weeks. Much, and sometimes the whole, of the journey was done on foot. The roads were bad, the inns uncomfortable, the character of the country unsettled. It may be fairly inferred that many—probably the majority—were the sons of men below the middle class with badly-lined purses, which when empty they replenished by begging, to which no disgrace was attached. They were hospitably entertained in the religious and other houses on their way, which the fashion of the time taught them to regard as almost their right. This life curiously compounded of hardship and kindliness was doubtless useful in teaching them to face and overcome difficulties, but the freedom of it, and the self-reliance it fostered, almost necessarily created a habit of mind impatient of restraint and strict discipline, when they reached the precincts of the university.

One has only to glance at the rollicking and sometimes irreverent ditties, as translated by Mr J. A. Symonds, that were in the mouths of the wandering students—called Goliards[1]—to understand how begging was enjoined as legitimate, and

[1] Who Golias was is not known. He was a person who was dignified with the titles of *episcopus* and *archipoeta* in whose name some of the poems were written.

bohemian unrest aroused and fostered in the minds of all whose natural dispositions leaned that way by such verses as[1]:

No one, none shall wander forth
Fasting from the table.
If thou'rt poor, from south to north
Beg as thou art able.

Dr Giles in his *Undergraduate of the Middle Ages*, to which most interesting sketch a general acknowledgment is due, says "One of the most curious things about the medieval student is his quotation, or rather his perversion, of Scripture on every occasion: so far is it from being true that the Bible was an unknown book prior to the Reformation." There is proof of both knowledge and irreverence in the Goliard's treatment of the advice given to the disciples "Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece."

This our order doth forbid
Double clothes with loathing;
He whose nakedness is hid,
With one vest hath clothing.
.....
What I've said of upper clothes
To the nether reaches;
They who own a shirt, let those
Think no more of breeches;
If one boasts big boots to use,
Let him leave his gaiters;
They who this firm law refuse
Shall be counted traitors.

Or again as an encouragement to breach of discipline:

This our order hath decried
Matins with a warning,
For that certain phantoms glide
In the early morning.
Whereby pass into man's brain
Visions of vain folly,
Early risers are insane
Racked by melancholy.

[1] J. A. Symonds' *Wine, Women and Song* (1884).

From the following lines it is easy to understand how the student earned the reputation of drunkenness and generally dare-devil behaviour.

This our order doth prescribe
All the year round matins;
When they've left their beds, our tribe
In the tap sing latins;
There they call for wine for all,
Roasted fowl and chicken;
Hazard's threats no hearts appal
Though his strokes still thicken.

It is worthy of remark that the university student in his wanderings was a privileged person in the estimation of princes and potentates. The safe conducts they granted were valid, even when the journey was between two countries at enmity with each other. Dr Giles in the sketch already mentioned gives on the authority of Thorold Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices* an account, at once amusing and instructive, of a prolonged journey from Oxford to Northumberland and back by three Oxford dons. Like Dives they fared sumptuously every day, except by eating fish on Fridays at an expense so ridiculously small as to be incredible, were it not attested by carefully kept accounts. "Even in their wildest extravagance at Ponteland [where a great festival was celebrated] it is something to know that a flagon of ale could be had for a penny, half an ox for four shillings, two carcases and a half of mutton for 2*s.* 6*d.* Four ducks cost 14*d.* They had also eight chickens which cost 2½*d.* each, but other seven they got for 2*d.* each. For this festival they purchased bread to the amount of 2*s.* 4*d.* and wine to the amount of 4*s.* 1½*d.* As they had also, we are told, 66 flagons (lagenae) of ale, they certainly verged upon Falstaff's half-penny-worth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack[1]." The same three dons spent Sunday at Northallerton, where bed and board for themselves, and hay and provender for their horses, cost them 9*d.* each.

We have seen that the master of the English grammar school in the 14th century was held in no estimation. What do we

[1] Giles' *Undergraduate of the Middle Ages*, p. 7.

know of his pupils whose aim was a university career? Mr Anstey[1] thinks that a lad was sent to the university who seemed "fit for nothing else." He was supposed to have received a certain amount of training in Latin as a preliminary to entrance. It was imperative that he should place himself under the protection of a master. His age was probably from 14 to 15. His master might often be not much above 20. Poverty was no bar. If his funds were insufficient to meet the expense of board and lodging, he, so to speak, worked his passage by the performance of quasi-menial services as an equivalent, such as waiting at table, doing messages &c. Hence the origin of sizars in Cambridge and servitors at Oxford. If he required an advance of money, he had to place in the proctor's hand, as security for its repayment, some of his personal belongings. The universities were then poorly endowed, and exhibitions or money prizes were few. The student's dignity was not compromised by his engaging in manual labour during vacations. Gaps in the wardrobe were sometimes filled by his master's cast-off clothes. Further, when all else failed, and often before, to beg he was not ashamed. The way for this now discreditable mode of finding ways and means was paved by the habits of the mendicant friars. People had been taught to give, and regarded it as a religious duty to be charitable to university students, many of whom were presumably under training for service in the Church. The taste for this method of filling an empty purse grew, and it became necessary to check it by specific regulation. No student was allowed to beg publicly unless he had a certificate from the Chancellor of the University that his case was a deserving one. The student's dress was assumed by many who were not students; many who were undergraduates disguised themselves in the outfit of bachelors, and bachelors took the same liberty with the hoods of masters[2]. With these the university authorities dealt severely by whipping or imprisonment in the stocks. It is evident from this that there was a large unsatisfactory element in English university life at this time. The existence of

[1] Anstey's *Historical Gleanings*, 2nd series, p. 17, and Mullinger's *Cambridge*, p. 346.

[2] *Munimenta Academica*, p. 360, Anstey.

systematic and legalised mendicancy is inconsistent with, even for that age, a reasonably high moral tone, and can scarcely be accounted for, except on the supposition that the ecclesiastical leaders, conscious of the changes that were not far distant, were doing their utmost to hold their ground by filling up the universities without discrimination or selection. Nor was the conduct of the well-to-do students entirely satisfactory. Their tendency towards undue expenditure in dress and extravagance in other directions was checked by a distinct prohibition[1].

Though the universities were in their origin, mainly if not entirely, intended for the education of the clergy, and for a long time had this as their principal aim, it must not be supposed that those educated under this system confined themselves to the discharge of ecclesiastical functions. Law and medicine were regularly studied by ecclesiastics. Some even threw aside their clerical character to act as ambassadors at foreign courts, and others took up the metier of soldiers, going forth to battle fully armed. Such readiness and capacity to follow pursuits so widely different seems to warrant the contention that the universities, though ostensibly ecclesiastical, were practically secular as well, and makes it difficult to decide which of the two —layman or churchman—was guilty of poaching on the preserves of the other.

Meanwhile though the battle of Bannockburn had secured the independence of Scotland and peace was established by the treaty of Northampton in 1328, there was no love lost between the English and Scottish people. Bannockburn was a bitter memory to the former, while success and security fostered a spirit of independence in the latter, and naturally suggested the question why they should not have a university of their own. But apart from any petty motive or feeling of rivalry, early in the 15th century the need for a university in Scotland was much felt. There was an abundant supply of students, the desire for learning was great, there was an undivided Church, and almost an enthusiasm for its maintenance and expansion. In some respects it was the day of small things. It is difficult to compare the value of money then and now, but we find doles of £4, £8

[1] *Munimenta Academica*, p. 233.

and £10 paid by command of the King by letters under the privy seal, for the expenses of sons of men of high rank while studying at Paris. But besides this, a strong motive for Scotland having a university of her own is to be found in the difference of opinion between Scotland and England as to which of the rival claimants to the pontificate should have their support. In the papal schism the Scottish and English ecclesiastics took different sides, the former regarding Clement VII, the latter, Urban as supreme Pontiff. In proof of this ill-feeling we find King Robert II requesting the Oxford authorities not to molest the Scots students though they were "damnable heretics" in supporting Clement as the true head of the church.

Whatever the obstacles, nearly a hundred years were to pass before a Scottish university was founded. In its absence and as a temporary measure, Professor Hume Brown tells us that in 1326 the Bishop of Moray founded the Scots College in Paris to meet the wants of students from his own diocese, though subsequently it was open to all students from Scotland. At the close of the 14th century the Scots appear to have been more numerous than ever. Out of a list of 21 supposts[1] representing the English 'nation' (which comprehended Germany, Scandinavia and the British Isles) 9 are Scots, all of whom were subsequently bishops in their own country[2].

Unfortunately at the French Revolution all the documents of the Scots College were either lost or destroyed. It is, however, rumoured that some have been recently rediscovered.

[1] A suppost is any member of the university.
[2] Hume Brown's *Hist. of Scotland*, I, p. 208.

CHAPTER III

FIRST PERIOD TO 1560. ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

WHILE much in connection with St Andrews from very early times up to the 10th or 11th century is outside the domain of authentic history, there is so much that cannot be questioned as to make us recognise a singular propriety in its being the possessor of the first Scottish seminary bearing the name of University. This honour and benefit fell to it in 1411, thanks to Bishop Wardlaw who in 1413 received from Pope Benedict XIII a Bull giving papal confirmation of the foundation. Its claim to this honour is strictly in keeping with its holding the Primacy of the whole Scottish Church from the downfall of Iona to that of the medieval Church[1]; its connection with the Culdees; its St Regulus Tower marking the change from the Celtic to the Roman Church; its priory, cathedral and monasteries—among the oldest in Scotland; its Schola Illustris[2] the existence of which is undoubted though its exact date is uncertain, and which was probably the germ which many years afterwards developed into a University.

[1] For a long time the head ecclesiastic of Scotland was the Archbishop of Canterbury, much to the dissatisfaction of the Scots, whom the Pope would not allow to have an Archbishop of their own. The first Archbishop of St Andrews was Patrick Graham in 1465, the second was William Scheves in 1478, Graham having been deposed for maladministration. *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[2] The Schola Illustris was probably a part of the monastic buildings. The Pedagogy contained both class-rooms and dormitories as well as a kitchen and other domestic offices, and had the Chapel of St John attached to it. It was the property of the Faculty of Arts, but the Faculty of Canon Law had the use of some parts of the buildings. Unfortunately the Pedagogy had very slender endowments and so rapidly fell into decay.

Bower, a contemporary writer, says distinctly that the "general study of the University in the city of St Andrew of Kilrymonth in Scotland began in 1410 after the feast of Pentecost." The substantial accuracy of the statement is confirmed by the charter granted by Bishop Wardlaw in 1411–12 where it is stated that the university had already made a praiseworthy commencement (*jam laudabiliter inchoata*). The reception of the Confirmation Bull and of others confirming various privileges in 1413–14 was the occasion of great rejoicing.

The historian thus describes it:

"The arrival [of the Papal Bulls] was welcomed by the ringing of bells from the steeples, and the tumultuous joy of all classes of the inhabitants. On the following day, being Sunday, a solemn convocation of the clergy was held in the Refectory; and the Papal Bulls having been read in the presence of the Bishop, the Chancellor of the University, they proceeded in procession to the high altar (of the cathedral) when the Te Deum was sung by the whole assembly; the bishops, priors, and other dignitaries being arrayed in their richest canonicals, whilst 400 clerks, besides novices and lay brothers, and an immense crowd of spectators, bent down before the high altar in gratitude and adoration. High mass was then celebrated and the remainder of the day was devoted to mirth and festivity[1]."

James I was at this time a prisoner in England, but he was kept informed of the movement for founding a university and gave it his hearty approval. On his release from captivity and after his coronation in 1424 he made vigorous efforts to promote the growth of the university.

That he visited the institution, listened to disputations by the students, praised and promoted to benefices in the Church those who distinguished themselves in his presence, and invited foreign scholars and Carthusian monks to teach in the Paedagogium is perhaps true, but the university records furnish no evidence in support of such statements. That he was keenly interested in its prosperity has been placed beyond doubt by Mr Maitland Anderson, librarian to the university. Through correspondence with an official in the Bibliographical Office in

[1] Tytler's *History of Scotland*, II, p. 43 (1864).

Rome he has learned from a papal missive, the text of which is now published for the first time[1] that, within two years of his coronation, James applied to Pope Martin V for permission to transfer the university from St Andrews to Perth. For this petition two reasons are given, first, that St Andrews being on the sea-coast was too near England with which country Scotland was often at war, and second, that Perth was in the centre of the kingdom, had a better climate, and a more abundant supply of provisions than other places in Scotland. The proposal was not unnatural. Perth was still the capital. His first parliament had met there in 1424. He was proposing to found there a Carthusian monastery. The transference presented little difficulty, for in St Andrews the university had the name but practically no habitation, and scarcely any property. Teaching was carried on in halls opened by the various masters. There was no collegiate life and the students lived where they pleased. The Pope referred the King's petition to the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane. What their views were is not known, but the proposal was not carried out.

Whatever the objections to the King's proposal may have been, it is evident that they produced no falling off in his zeal for the interests of the university, in the activity of Bishop Wardlaw, or in the co-operation of the Faculty of Arts. It is probable, as suggested by Mr Anderson in the article already referred to, that the proposed removal to Perth stirred up the authorities to renewed efforts for strengthening the position of St Andrews. We find the Bishop prepared to hand over a tenement which might be made into a college for the Faculty of Arts, provided the Faculty would make a grant from its common purse towards the construction of the building. To this the Faculty heartily agreed, and in due course the Nova Schola Facultatis was completed much to the satisfaction of all. This was followed by the King granting a charter in which he took the university under his protection, and exempted it and all its members from taxations and burdens of every kind. Till the end of his life he made most earnest endeavours to produce peace and harmony between the competing pedagogies, which

[1] J. M. Anderson's *Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1906.

had all along been a fruitful source of discord, recommending the masters and students in the different pedagogies to meet with each other frequently with a view to friendly intercourse, and so promote the prosperity of the university[1].

No university could start under more favourable auspices than one with a King like James I for its patron, a Bishop like Wardlaw for its founder and a churchman like Laurence of Lindores for its Rector.

St Andrews was modelled after the constitution of the University of Paris, and, like it, was divided into four 'nations'—Fife, Lothian, Angus, and Alban[2]. It will be seen further on that a similar division into nations was carried out in Glasgow and Aberdeen. The reason for such a division was that the Rector who was then one of the most important officers in the university, was elected by the votes of proctors chosen (one for each nation) by the students, who might be from any part of the world. Foreigners were no doubt fewer than natives and, but for such an arrangement, would have been outvoted. We have here a proof of the cosmopolitan character of the medieval University. Provision was made for the admission and recognition of students of every nationality as members of a great intellectual commonwealth.

It is curious that the United States of America should have adopted this method for the election of the President. It has been equally futile in both cases, proctors and delegates being alike pledged to vote for a particular person. The division was necessarily somewhat arbitrary, and in the foreign universities was changed from time to time, depending on their development and expansion. The election of the Rector by the students as above described has continued to our own times in Glasgow and Aberdeen and the prerogative is jealously guarded against interference. The changes and mode of election in St Andrews and Edinburgh will be mentioned in their proper place. The

[1] Private halls or pedagogies were for some time permitted, but this was forbidden in 1429, as discords and scandals arose in connection with them. The prohibition was however evaded, and in 1460 it was resolved that there should in future be only one pedagogy. *Acts of the Faculty of Arts* (f. 48 *a*). Rashdall, II, p. 301.

[2] The Alban nation included all students not included in the other three.

Rector, except as being a member of the University Court, has ceased to be an educational officer, his position is purely honorary, and his election has no educational aspect. The cleavage is generally political and, as might be expected, a source of heat, rivalry, and energetic contention. Large posters are abundantly displayed, leaflets describing the competing claims of the proposed candidates are lavishly distributed, and heated orations are fulminated at uproarious meetings for several weeks before the election. It may be fairly described as the University Saturnalia during which the students may within pretty wide limits do what they please in support of the respective candidates.

With all this however it is unquestionable that the choice made by callow youths has been almost without exception excellent. The very highest names in literature and statesmanship are found in the list of Lord Rectors, and there is scarcely one of which any university might not be proud. To be chosen for the office is one of the most coveted distinctions by men of the greatest eminence.

There is in every age a feature common to all ecclesiastical institutions, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, a tendency to self-assertion often amounting to arrogance in their dealings with and attitude towards laymen, as if they had a heaven-sent commission to direct and control. That this, though objectionable from many points of view, has its uses cannot be denied, and is especially true of the action of the hierarchy of the middle ages. The Church was the ark which must by all means be preserved from wreckage, and be equipped to ride the storm. It had to fight against the power of the nobles, and it could fight only with intellectual weapons. Hence the encouragement of learning which characterised the efforts of the Romish Church in the 13th and 14th centuries. She felt that knowledge was power, and laboured zealously for its increase. An overweening faith in the infallibility of dogma prevented her from suspecting that increase of knowledge and cultivation of intellect might shake the foundations of dogma and ecclesiasticism, and bring them to ruin. This however was the result. Whatever the motive may have been, the fact that she did so much for the maintenance

and expansion of educational institutions cannot be lightly set aside and forgotten.

As we are told by Hill Burton:

"The Church supplied something then, indeed, which we search after in vain in the present day, and which we shall only achieve by some great strides in academic organisation, capable of supplying from within what was then supplied from without. What was thus supplied was no less than that cosmopolitan nature, which made the university not merely parochial, or merely national, but universal as its name denoted. The temporal prince might endow the academy with lands and riches, and might confer upon its members honourable and lucrative privileges; but it was to the head of the one indivisible Church that the power belonged of franking it all over Christendom, and establishing throughout the civilised world a freemasonry of intellect which made all the universities, as it were, one great corporation of the learned men of the world[1]." This is to a large extent true, but it is right to add that in the middle ages, just as now, students went wherever great names attracted them. It is probably correct to say that within comparatively recent years lectures on Theology in Berlin, Freiburg and elsewhere, were attended by as cosmopolitan an audience as the middle ages ever saw.

Though the University of St Andrews was founded in 1411, twenty years passed before it had a local habitation. As already mentioned the teaching was carried on in rooms lent or hired for the purpose in different parts of the city, but in 1430 Bishop Wardlaw set apart a building for the exclusive use of the teachers and students. As yet it had no colleges, but it got three before the Reformation. The first, St Salvator's, was founded in 1450 by Bishop Kennedy of whom Hill Burton says "He was the first churchman to hold high political influence in Scotland. His is one of the few political reputations against which no stone is cast[2]." He endowed this college with great munificence,

[1] Hill Burton's *Scot Abroad*, p. 171, ed. 1883.

[2] "Scottish history contains no more dramatic interview than that which took place between James II and Bishop Kennedy in his castle of St Andrews, when the three great Earls—the Earl of Douglas, the Tiger Earl of Crawford, and the Lord of the Isles—had made a 'band,' and bound themselves by an oath to stand by each other

furnishing the church with stoles for the priests, gold and silver vessels, censers, bells, candelabras &c. He provided for the maintenance of thirteen persons to recall the number of our Lord and His twelve apostles. These were a Provost, a Licentiate, a Bachelor, four Masters of Arts and six poor clerics. Young men of rank and wealth were allowed to study in the college, but were bound to obey the Provost and observe the rules of the house just as the poor scholars were.

In 1468 the College of St Salvator got from Pope Pius II the unusual privilege of examining its own candidates for degrees, and Pope Pius III in 1537 granted the same privilege to St Mary's. It is not certain that the privilege extended to the conferring of degrees without the intervention of the Chancellor[1]. If it did, it seems to show that the distinction between college and university was no longer retained. The case of Marischal College in Aberdeen in 1593 is different, inasmuch as at that time Marischal College had a Chancellor and Rector of its own, and continued to confer degrees as a distinct university till its union with King's College, Old Aberdeen, in 1860.

In 1512 the College of St Leonard was founded by Archbishop Alexander Stuart, natural son of James IV, and Prior John Hepburn. On the site chosen for it there had once stood a hospital for the lodgment of pilgrims who came to see the miracles wrought by the relics of St Andrew. As intelligence grew and superstition declined, miracles ceased and pilgrims disappeared. The hospital was converted into an asylum for old and infirm women, whose conduct seems to have given but a poor return for the refuge provided for them. The old charter says "they yielded but little or no good fruit by their life and conversation." The two founders accordingly turned it to better use, and provided for the maintenance of one principal,

against the King. James in despair had all but resolved to fly from his kingdom; but before doing so he took refuge with his cousin, the Bishop, who led him to his own chamber. There they knelt down and prayed together. After this Kennedy gave the King a sheaf of arrows bound together, and bade him break them as they were. When the King could not, he then bade him loose the sheaf and break them one by one. By this acted parable the Bishop conveyed the counsel *Divide et impera*. The King acted on the advice...and thus succeeded in dissolving the band of the three great Earls." *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1882, by Principal Shairp, p. 712.

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Edinburgh University*, I, pp. 12, 16, 1884 ed.

four chaplains, and twenty scholars. The regulations as to admission by examination, meals, dress, and internal economy generally, are laid down with great minuteness.

An examination of the statutes of St Leonard's leaves an impression that the religious exercises of a monastery and the observance of fasts and festivals, rather than literature and intellectual culture, were, to begin with, the aims of the founders. It is no doubt laid down that "thrice in the week after dinner, a lecture shall be delivered on grammar, or poetry, or oratory, or one of the books of Solomon, and that before proceeding to the degree of 'Master,' let the students perfect themselves in logic, physic, philosophy, metaphysics and ethics, and in one, at least, of the books of Solomon." Beyond this there is little or nothing about the regulation of studies, the treatises to be read, or how and by whom the students were to be taught the above five subjects necessary for the degree of 'Master.' The regulations as to the admission of entrants were simple, but terribly trying for the examiner who had to furnish a certificate of the candidate's competence[1].

It was provided in the statutes of St Leonard's that children of the nobility and others who wish to acquire knowledge and virtue will be admitted, provided they in no way infringe the statutes. If they choose to eat with the other students, they must submit to the same discipline, and be liable to the same punishment. They must not wear a secular dress, nor garments too much cut away, nor caps of a green, scarlet, blue, yellow or any showy colour, but their garments must be such as becomes grave and clerical persons. They must not let their beards or hair be too long, but be so cut that a great part of the ears shall be seen.

The contrast between the absence of details for the regulation of study and the minuteness with which, especially on feast, but

[1] The entrant must be of pure life, correct morals, well versed in grammar, a good writer, and a good singer. No one unless he is found competent in these respects shall be recommended by the examiners for admission "as the examiners themselves shall hope to escape the divine condemnation, and no one shall be received by bribe, or entreaty, or the interest of any religious or secular person (unless he is found qualified) under the penalty of eternal damnation." Lyon's *Hist. of St Andrews*, II, pp. 245—6.

also on other, days, every hour had its occupation in religious exercises either in chapel or at meals, is noteworthy. A general awakener for every week aroused the college at 5 o'clock from Easter to September, and at half past 6 from September to Easter. The kind and quantity of food and drink, the order in which students in turn should serve at table, the reading of the Scriptures or some moral book, and the singing of the Epistle at the common table, are all exactly specified. "Especially," say the statutes, "we forbid any female to enter our college except the common laundress, who shall not be less than 50 years old, because, says St Jerome, no one can serve God with all his heart who has any transactions with a woman.... No one shall go out of college without leave from the Principal or one of the regents; nor shall they grant this leave to any one but on good grounds, and without having received proofs of his purity and integrity."

All this savours more of a monastery than a university, and in these modern days is somewhat difficult of comprehension. But has it not its good side? The founders were true to themselves and to their conception of life, though it was unquestionably narrow. With the corruption and formality of their worship we have no sympathy, and we think the methods by which they endeavoured to elevate life and keep it pure were mistaken ones, but their aim at combining life and religion was good and worthy of respect. Some of the regulations about games and physical exercises are quaint. "Once a week the students with one of the masters shall repair to the links (*ad campos*), and having there practised honest games shall return in time for vespers. If field exercises be allowed more than once a week (which however we object to, says the statute) then let the students take to some honest labour in a garden or elsewhere[1]."

In the acts of the Faculty of Arts (which was practically the university) there is one which forbids two or three weeks to be spent in connection with cock-fighting (*in procuratione gallorum*), but there was no objection to two or three days being so spent. *Acta Fac. Artium*, f. 1 b.

By another, students were allowed to engage in hawking

[1] *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1882, by Principal Shairp, p. 716.

provided they went in their ordinary dress, and not in borrowed secular costumes. *Acta Fac. Artium*, f. 15 a[1].

The third college was founded by Archbishop James Beaton in 1537, and further endowed and remodelled by Archbishop Hamilton in 1553. By a bull received from the Pope it was dedicated to the Blessed Mary of the Assumption. It was endowed for the maintenance of thirty-six persons, among whom were included professors of philosophy, rhetoric and grammar. The regulations and aim were similar to those of St Leonard's. These three colleges came into existence at no great distance of time before the Reformation; their intellectual food for some time was medieval theology and philosophy; they were meant to strengthen the Church and act as a bulwark against heresy and schism. But gleams of enlightenment had begun to pierce the darkness of the middle ages. By the fall of Constantinople Greek books and Greek teachers long known already in Italy had been dispersed through a great part of Europe. In pursuance of the study of Greek Italy preceded England by about 80 years. St Paul's School, London, founded in 1512, is the oldest humanistic school in England. Its statutes in 1518 enjoin that the Master shall be "learned in good and clean Latin, and also in Greek, if such may be gotten." It may be inferred from this proviso that Greek scholars were not plentiful in this country. At the end of the 15th century the Aldine press at Venice had sent out, among other editions, the whole of Hesiod, large portions of Theocritus, Aristotle and Aristophanes, and early in the 16th century Thucydides, Sophocles, Herodotus, Xenophon, Euripides and Demosthenes followed in quick succession. In England Greek had got a footing in some schools in 1560, but it was not till 1590 that we find in the statutes of Harrow School precise directions for the teaching of Greek[2]. This awakening was accompanied by other influences. Printing had been invented and America discovered. Only the slumberer and sluggard could remain irresponsive to the stimulation of the freer and more intellectual atmosphere around them. But, "by a strange irony of fate two of these

[1] Rashdall, vol. II, part II, pp. 673, 675.

[2] Jebb, *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. I, pp. 562, 582.

colleges became, almost from the first, the foremost agents in working the overthrow of that church which they were founded to defend[1]." This was especially true of St Leonard's, of which the famous Scottish reformer Alexander Alane (Alesius) was one of the earliest students.

Other names outstanding in history besides that of Alane can be recorded as students of St Andrews, such as George Buchanan, David Lyndsay of the Mount, the martyr Patrick Hamilton and John Knox. Following the example and almost surpassing the ability of his teacher, Major, Knox taught with remarkable success early in the 16th century the scholastic philosophy from the barren subtleties of which he was soon to shake himself clear. About the same time Buchanan was a student in St Andrews after having spent two years in Paris. This was followed by another journey to France where he graduated at the Scots College and was appointed professor in the College of Ste Barbe. Soon after his return to Scotland in 1535 he incurred the anger of Cardinal Beaton for his attack on the Franciscan monks, and was imprisoned in the castle of St Andrews. There is therefore reason for the statement made by Mr Lyon in his history of St Andrews, that "even up to the time of the Reformation the university continued to be, as it always had been, the principal one in Scotland."

It had, as we have seen, first as a professor and ultimately as Principal of St Salvator's College, John Major or Mair, the most famous teacher of medievalism in Europe. Much that he taught and wrote was entirely out of touch with the intellectual movements aroused by the new teachings of the revival of learning. Though not a Protestant, he was a churchman of very advanced opinions on religious subjects. He was opposed to the supremacy of the Pope in temporal matters, to the ambition and greed of the Court of Rome; he thought that the opinion of a general council should have more authority than a deliverance by the Pope; and that the number of monasteries should be reduced. In ordinary politics his views were distinctly democratic. He denied the divine right of kings, holding that they derive their power from the people, who are the only

[1] Principal Shairp in article above quoted, p. 717.

proper source of authority, and that when kings rule badly they may be deposed.

The number of students for whom maintenance was provided in the three colleges was about sixty. To teach this handful of students seventeen clergymen (some of whom were beneficed) were employed, and who for their work as teachers in the university received no emoluments. In 1557 the total number of entrants in the university was thirty-one, and in 1558 only three, the reason of this serious reduction recorded in the Rector's book being, "this year on account of the tumults caused by religion very few came to this university." In 1560 and for three years afterwards the number was about thirty. The Rector's book does not show the total number of students in any one year. It only shows the number incorporated *for the first time* in any year. The numbers given above would therefore require to be largely increased in order to give even approximately the total number of students at the three colleges in these years.

To charge the St Andrews authorities with lack of zeal or capacity, as the cause of the small number of their students, would be unfair. The circumstances must be taken into account. They were standing at the parting of the ways. Medievalism though weakened was not killed. St Salvator's was looking in one direction, St Leonard's and St Mary's in another. The intellectual life of the middle ages depended entirely on the organisation of the Church, and the acceptance of the Church's standard of faith was for one section imperative. In the medieval university, which was essentially a religious institution, the prosecution of truth to its logical conclusion was not to be expected from that section, for it was compelled to confine its efforts to proving that the teaching of the Church could be established by human reasoning. The other section was touched by the wider and ever widening streams of new ideas that came with the renaissance and the Reformation. Scholastic philosophy lost its hold, and for them was practically dead by the end of the 15th century. What more natural than that students, in order to escape from bitter dissensions at home, should seek the quiet of universities abroad?

The subjects necessary for the degree of Master of Arts were

the same as in all medieval universities, viz. grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. Unless St Andrews was to lag behind, all this must be changed and adapted to the new conditions.

While there is apparently a slight confusion as to the date when Greek was first taught in Scotland, it is tolerably certain that it was taught in Montrose and Perth early in the 16th century. But in Paris in 1524 Buchanan could not get instruction in that language, and it had no recognised place there till the College Royal was founded in 1530 for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. We are told by James Melville that his uncle Andrew, on entering as a student at St Andrews in 1559, could read the logics of Aristotle in Greek[1]. But we are also told on the same authority that Andrew Melville found Greek unknown in St Mary's College, which had much the most complete professoriate[2]. The two statements are not necessarily contradictory. We know that Andrew Melville was taught Greek in Montrose by a Frenchman, Pierre de Marsiliers. But even in Cambridge in 1511 we are told that Erasmus, with respect to his Greek class, was doomed to almost complete disappointment[3]. Greek had no attractions for the Cambridge students. A suspicious savour of heresy clung to the reading and teaching of Greek and was not got rid of till the beginning of the 17th century. There appears no good reason for regarding St Andrews as less progressive, and more the slave of medievalism, than the other ancient universities of Europe.

The foregoing is perhaps a sufficiently detailed account of the origin and progress of the university up to the time of the Reformation. Its proceedings will form the subject of another chapter when the second branch of our enquiry from the Reformation to 1696 is taken up.

[1] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 24, 31, ed. 1829.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 39, ed. 1829.
[3] J. B. Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, p. 493.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST PERIOD TO 1560. GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

WHEN the University of St Andrews had been forty years in existence, and the thirst for education was still unslaked, the distance of that little city from the rest of Scotland was felt to be an inconvenience requiring remedy. The epoch moreover was in several respects very favourable for the founding of universities. The schism in the Romish Church at the end of the 14th century led to a large increase in the number of universities on the Continent. Between the Pope in Avignon and the Pope in Rome there was the keenest rivalry. In their anxiety to thwart each others' schemes and make good their claim to superiority in the pontificate, both lent a willing ear to petitions from whatever quarter they came, and were ready to grant Bulls for the foundation of institutions, on which they felt the success of the Church largely depended. The University of Paris supported the Pope in Avignon, in which they were followed by Scotland, as already mentioned, while England gave its support to the Pope in Rome. Scottish students accordingly were received at the English universities with scant courtesy. Further it is not matter for regret or reproach, that the Bishop of Glasgow was unwilling that his diocese should lag behind that of St Andrews, just as half a century later Bishop Elphinstone was actuated by a similar not ignoble ambition to have a university in his diocese of Aberdeen.

In 1450, the papal schism having ceased, James II at Bishop Turnbull's suggestion presented to Nicholas V, himself a great scholar and zealous for education, a petition for the founding of a second university in Glasgow, "where the air was salubrious

and provisions were plentiful," and which Major in his History describes as a "small but beautiful city situated on a fine river not yet deepened by art so as to be a channel of commerce." The petition was at once granted, giving what could come only from Papal authority, the privilege of conferring degrees and liberty to teach all over the world[1]. In 1453 the King gave a charter granting additional privileges exempting the authorities from the payment of taxes. The foundation was after the model of Bologna, but it imitated to a large extent the customs of Louvain—then and still a famous university—perhaps because John Lichton its Rector was a Scotsman. The Bull did not specify Bologna as a model for Glasgow. It only gave to the authorities as a body corporate the same privileges and the same ecclesiastical supervision by the Chancellor as that famous Italian university had. Bologna was especially a school of law—civil and canon. In this Glasgow did not imitate Bologna to any great extent. There was little teaching in the higher Faculties, in which there were only occasional lectures, attendance on which was not compulsory. In the great relative prominence secured, and to the present day retained, by the Faculty of Arts in Glasgow the example of Louvain and other continental universities was followed.

The Pope wished Glasgow to have a *studium generale* which should "flourish in theology, canon and civil law, and in any other lawful Faculty." A most promising start was made. Bachelors were presented for graduation in the very first year after the foundation. Lectures in other Faculties were given, but the Faculty of Arts was the only one which had a definite shape and constitution. It elected a Dean, made laws for its government, and acquired property in which the university as a body had no share. It established a Paedagogium and used the funds of the Faculty for the upkeep of the building. For a considerable time the university as a body acquired no property. "There might be," says Mr Innes, "some danger of the Faculty of Arts absorbing the University."

The fact that candidates for graduation presented themselves in the first year of its existence is noteworthy, and shows that

[1] *Munimenta*, I, p. 3.

the foundation of the university was in response to a popular demand. These candidates must have had training in scholastic philosophy somewhere. One does not expect a degree-giving institution to spring thus suddenly into existence and full fruition. It may be taken as a corroboration of a sentence already quoted from Mr Mullinger that "universities in the earlier times had not infrequently a vigorous virtual existence long before they obtained legal recognition."

Glasgow followed the example of Bologna in giving to the supposts assembled in council the power of government, and in this respect differed from St Andrews and Aberdeen, where the supposts did not govern directly, but through representatives whom they had elected. As Glasgow, like St Andrews, had at first no endowment from which teachers could be paid, the Pope issued a Bull authorising all the teaching staff who were beneficed clergymen to reside in the university for ten years or even longer if they continued lecturing, and to enjoy the emoluments of their benefices, provided they arranged for the work of their cures being properly attended to. The same was the case in Aberdeen. In Glasgow some lectures were given in theology and law—canon and civil—but the backbone of the teaching was philosophy and humanity both of which were regularly taught.

Few words have thrown off such a number of correlatives with widely different meanings as the Latin word *humanus*, the root-meaning of which is 'peculiar to a human being.' In the middle ages an education which had Latin, and, later on, Latin combined with Greek for its basis, was regarded as the best source of what ought to be the proper aim of every man, viz. culture, and hence in Scotland the University Chair from which Latin was taught was called the Chair of Humanity. It is difficult to explain why Greek did not share in the name, unless it be that Latin had long the precedence of Greek in point of time as a branch of education.

Another word that has changed its meaning in its passing from the middle ages to the present day is *bursar*, which formerly meant a pupil who had gained in some way by favour or examination a money-prize—a *bursa*, or purse, a meaning which it still has. But a different signification has been added

to it. The bursar of a college is he who has charge of its financial matters.

Regent again was the official title of the teacher to whose care the student was handed over for instruction and guidance in every branch of the curriculum. This custom was observed longer in some universities than in others, but it was nowhere permanent, and hence in many cases Regent and Professor were interchangeable titles.

At first and for a number of years the university had no building set apart for teaching purposes. Parts of the cathedral and probably of other churches were so used. The first gift recorded is that of a tenement in the High Street, and four acres of land on the Dowhill stretching to the Molendinar Burn. This tenement occupied the site where subsequently the old college stood, till the splendid building on Gilmorehill was erected in 1869. The donor was Sir Gavin Hamilton who in 1455 granted a charter of the tenement and land to the Prior and Convent of the Preaching Friars of Glasgow[1]. With Scottish caution, dictated possibly by doubts as to the future success of the university (not without foundation as it turned out) he stipulated in the charter that his heirs and assigns should have full right of retaking the same into their own proper possession. His relative Lord Hamilton in 1460 made the gift absolute, and thenceforth it was put to university uses, and called a Paedagogium.

The burgh records of Glasgow do not go further back than 1573.

The *Munimenta* of the university have a threefold classification.

(1) Deeds of erection, privileges, and endowments.

(2) Statutes and internal discipline of the university.

(3) Lists of members.

These documents give evidence of systematic and careful registration.

Vol. I of the *Munimenta* deals with privileges and property.

From 1451 to 1563 the entries (40 in number) are recorded with the greatest care and precision, and deal with gifts, annexation of benefices, exemption from taxation, rent and repairs of

[1] *Munimenta*, I, p. 9.

the Paedagogium, the Chancellor's claim to the right of appointment of a master to the grammar school, and his prohibition of private schools without his permission. There is a steady contribution of gifts, of lands, tenements and money to the Faculty of Arts, and nothing to indicate decay or deterioration of the institution, till the letter under the Privy Seal by Mary Queen of Scots of date 1563 sets forth its ruinous condition.

Vol. II gives an account of the statutes and internal discipline of the university.

The example of foreign universities is followed. Students are arranged in four 'nations.' Glottiana, representing Clydesdale. Loudoniana, the rest of Scotland (excepting the south and west), England and later the Colonies. Rothesaiana, the west and south of Scotland and Ireland, and Albania, foreigners.

Each nation elected a procurator to represent it in the election of the Rector who held office for a year, but could be, and often was, re-elected for several years. Vol. II contains the lists and names of those incorporated with the university for each year from 1451, when it was founded, up to the time of the Reformation. The falling off in the number of incorporated members is very striking. Commencing at its foundation with 60, within 30 years the number was reduced to 2. To this a variety of circumstances contributed. The greater prestige of foreign universities, the comparatively small area from which students could be supplied, the poverty of the country—approaching almost to a state of famine—distraction arising from war with England, a nobility disaffected owing to the King's appointment of low favourites to positions for which they were not qualified—all these were hostile to university success. But probably the most baneful influence was a badly governed Church, and a declension in the morals of the clergy on whose support the university mainly depended.

Under the head of *Annals of the University* we have little more than records of the names and election of a succession of Rectors, the dress they should wear when going through the city on feast days, and the number of attendants who should accompany them, when a white wooden rod should be carried before them, when a silver one, fees, honoraria to masters, calendar of

feasts &c., but scarcely any reference to the course of study to be pursued. In 1482, 1509 and 1522 three several Rectors indicate dissatisfaction with the state of matters; one proposing a renewal of the statutes and a vigilant maintenance of judicial jurisdiction on the part of the university, the calling up of unpaid rents, and the examination of certain expenses that require to be looked into. Another proposes to have a general congregation to deal with five important matters which need consideration. A third proposes that bachelors should be compelled to take the master's degree within a fixed time, and that the students' rooms should be visited nightly. These are indications of a feeling on the part of the authorities that bracing up in several directions was necessary.

The *Annals of the Faculty of Arts* have a register apart from those of the university. As already stated, the former alone had a constitution and had taken definite shape. The names of those who took degrees were recorded in its register and not in that of the university. There seems therefore ground for Mr Innes's remark that there was some danger of the Faculty of Arts absorbing the university, or becoming an independent body.

The registration generally leaves nothing to be desired in respect of fulness and precision, and gives a faithful record of the doings of the Faculty—the names of those admitted to degrees, *post rigorosum examen*, and of the examiners, the appointment of successive deans, dress of students, dues for graduation, audit of accounts, debts incurred owing to famine, war, and pestilence, and references to books to be read. But in 1460 symptoms of decadence begin to appear. One master is charged with retaining books not his own, another with using contumelious language. Laxity in discipline and work is a subject of complaint in 1468. Regents report that no students have gone through the course of study necessary for the degree of bachelor. In 1476 it is declared indispensable that a candidate for the degree of master should have read all the prescribed books. Several have failed to do so. In 1482 some have not taken their master's degree at the proper time on account of the scarcity and dearness of provisions. Masters are fined for non-attendance at congregations. Alexander Erskyne, son of Lord Erskyne, took

the degree of bachelor with great magnificence and expense (*qui et gloriosissimum actum celebravit et solvit ingentes expensas*). It does not appear whether this is recorded for blame or approval. A student not qualified according to the statutes is admitted to his trials for the master's degree at the entreaty of certain masters. No master in future is to prefer such a request on pain of a fine. Some masters fail to lecture as required by the statutes, others disregard the admonition of the Dean. In 1501 owing to the plague there was no lecture during most of the year. Between 1509 and 1535 there is no entry in the *Munimenta*. All this affords clear evidence of the relaxed efforts of a moribund institution. This is probably the stage in its history on which Mr Innes remarks "This was the state of things when we lose sight of the university and its members in the storm that preceded the Reformation. Even before that time the university seems to have fallen into decay. The words of the Queen's letter in 1563 are scarcely to be accounted for by any sudden or recent calamity. 'Forsamekil as within the citie of Glasgow ane college and universitie was devisit to be had quhairin the youthe mycht be brocht up in letres and knawlege, the commoune welth servit, and verteu incressit—of the quhilk college ane parte of the sculis and chalmeris being bigeit, the rest thereof, alsweill duellings as provisioune for the pouir bursouris and maisteris to teche ceissit, sua that the samyn apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor ony wyse to be recknit ane establisst foundatioun[1].'"

Ten years after this the building of the Paedagogium is said to be ruinous, and discipline extinct. Mr Innes continues "But though thus fallen the *studium generale* still kept up the skeleton of its constitution. The very last transactions recorded before the Reformation show us the University met in full convocation in the Chapter-House of the Cathedral, on its statutory day of the feast of St Crispin and Crispinian—its four nations electing their 'intrants' or procurators—the four intrants electing the Rector of the university, and his four deputies, the promotor or procurator and bursar—and members admitted to the university as a defined and distinct body, and according to the ancient constitution and

[1] Preface to *Munimenta*, p. xiv.

practice: while the Faculty of Arts held its congregation in the crypt, at the altar of St Nicholas, and there elected their Dean and their examinators, and recorded the 'proceeding' of the year's students—now sadly reduced in numbers—for their degrees[1]." There were only three bachelors.

It seems warrantable to infer from this that the Faculty of Arts had little in common with the rest of the university. The former seems to have been the only part of the institution that acquired property, and to have used it solely for its own purposes. The relation in which they stood to each other is not clear. While the property acquired belonged to the Faculty of Arts and was employed, among other purposes, for the maintenance and repairs of the Paedagogium, we find in the annals of the university a suggestion that the dilapidated condition of the law schools should be put right, that unpaid rents should be recovered, and certain expenses looked into, thus indicating an interest in transactions more strictly within the province of the Faculty of Arts. We find also that Elphinstone, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, was Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1471 and Rector of the university in 1474, which shows some connection between the two portions of the institution. It is recorded in the annals of the Faculty of Arts that a regent, Walter Bunche, was in 1478 dismissed for incompetence, and in the annals of the university there is an entry in 1490 bearing that the regents in the Faculty of Arts are to be compelled to carry out the provisions of the foundations of their chaplainries. It is probable that the university as a body took the initiative in the first as it did in the second case, but the independent action of the Faculty of Arts in other respects makes it difficult to determine in what respect and to what extent it was subordinate to the university as a body.

It cannot be claimed for Glasgow University that for the first hundred years of its existence it had a successful career. In the 15th century the Faculty of Arts was eminently flourishing. A brave show was made on their feast days by processions of masters, graduates and students through the streets carrying flowers before adjourning to the banquet in their college, the

[1] Preface to *Munimenta*, p. xv.

Faculties of Theology and Law being unrepresented. Before long there was evidence of decay. The absence of endowments sufficient to secure the regular services of a body of competent teachers and the indifference of a succession of Bishops and Chancellors, whose leanings were ecclesiastical rather than academic, produced a relaxation in the efforts of men of high ability and literary eminence who, in other circumstances, could have done much to maintain the reputation and promote the success of the university. She could however point to some *alumni* of great distinction—Elphinstone, Knox, Spottiswood, and Cardinal Beaton, and to at least one eminent teacher—John Major the historian, and one literary man of note, Robert Henryson. Its marvellously improved condition under the vigorous superintendence of Andrew Melville will be dealt with in the second branch of our subject.

CHAPTER V

FIRST PERIOD TO 1560. ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY

THE forty-four years which separate the founding of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen were little favourable to educational progress. Twenty-eight are covered by the reign of James III whose hands were kept more than full by an unbroken struggle against powerful and rebellious nobles whose chief grievance against him was that he was interested in art and literature. His favourite friends who were hanged over Lauder Bridge were almost all people of culture. They were hanged by Archibald Bell-the-Cat whose character in respect of culture is quite fairly expressed by Scott's

> "Thanks to St Bothan son of mine
> Save Gawain ne'er could pen a line."

Though there was no concentrated public action with respect to education till 1494, the century that can lay claim to such literature as the *Kingis Quair*, *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, and the poems of Blind Harry, Dunbar, and Henryson has no cause to be ashamed. From Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris* it is clear that a very large part of the literary production of that age is lost.

On Elphinstone becoming Bishop of Aberdeen he found in existence a *studium generale* of humble pretensions, which probably suggested the idea of a third university in that city. With the cordial co-operation of James IV, whose full confidence he enjoyed, he succeeded in his project. The King forwarded to Pope Alexander VI a request for sanction for the erection. This was freely given and a Bull was issued. In the preamble to the

Bull, which is too long to quote at length, the Pope gives his reason for granting it, viz. that the King had presented a petition, desiring to improve the condition of his people, especially in the northern parts of his kingdom, where there are places cut off from the rest by arms of the sea and high mountains; that the people living there are ignorant and almost barbarous, owing to their distance from a university, that proper men cannot be found for preaching and administering the sacraments; that the city of Old Aberdeen is near these places and suitable for a university, where all lawful faculties could be taught both to ecclesiastics and laymen, who would thus acquire the most precious pearl of knowledge, and so promote the well-being of the kingdom and the salvation of souls.

It can scarcely be doubted that the terms of this petition greatly exaggerated the extent to which barbarism and the absence of education prevailed in the north and east of Scotland. In the 12th and subsequent centuries there were schools in Aberdeen. More than a hundred years before this petition was presented, Barbour Archdeacon of Aberdeen wrote his *Brus* in the vernacular. In Aberdeen Fordun the historian was a chantry priest. It may be fairly presumed that both wrote for an educated people, who had some appreciation of literature. A more certain proof of this is Barbour's taking students to study at Oxford and Paris. The *Legends of the Saints*—a MS. in the Cambridge University Library—is clearly an Aberdeen production of the 15th century. It is to the last degree unlikely that, in view of the possession of schools, monastic or other, for three centuries, the priesthood were so unlettered as to be unable to conduct the services of the Church with efficiency. The mountains and arms of the sea are very real obstacles to the spread of education, and are with us still, but they are not insuperable and seem here unduly pressed.

Cosmo Innes's comment on this may be quoted.

"Centuries before the era of our oldest University, the whole fertile land of Scotland was occupied by the same energetic tribes, whether Saxon or Danish, who colonised England. Towns were built wherever a river's mouth gave a haven for small ships in the dangerous coast. Trade was carried on with

the kindred people of Flanders, Holland and Normandy; and the hides and wool of our mountains, the salmon of the Dee and the Tay, and the herring of our seas, were exchanged against the cloths of Bruges, the wines of Bordeaux and the Rhine; and the table luxuries, as well as the ornaments of dress and art, which found admirers among us long before we appreciated what are now counted the comforts of life. A trading and friendly intercourse with the continental nations would, of itself, go far to prove some intelligence and education[1]."

In connection with the statement that Elphinstone on his arrival in Aberdeen in 1495 found in existence a *studium generale* of humble pretensions, it is necessary to refer to John Hardyng's *Chronicle* (p. 423 Ellis's edition), in the 15th stanza of which we find the following:

> Than ryde Northeast all alongest the see,
> Ryght from Dunde to Arbroith as I mene,
> Than to Monrosse, and to Barvye,
> And so through the Meernes to Cowy as I wene,
> Then xii myles of moore passe to Aberdyne,
> Betwyxt Dee and Done a goodly cytee,
> A merchaunt towne and universytee.

His history is not above suspicion, but it is certain that he was sent on confidential missions to Scotland by Henry V and Henry VI whose reigns cover the period from 1413 to 1461, and that he spent over three years in the country.

"The precise date when Hardyng visited Scotland cannot be determined; but it must have been early in the reign of Henry V. His *Chronicle*, written in his advanced age, was originally intended for the special behoof of Richard, Duke of York. As it was not completed in its final form, however, till York's death, Hardyng presented it to his son Edward IV[2]."

However untrustworthy he may be in some respects, we have on a subject, about which he had no motive for deliberate falsehood, a statement of the existence of a university in Aberdeen seventy years before Elphinstone found only a *studium generale* of humble pretensions. A probable explanation is, that it is another example of what seems to have been the case, as

[1] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. iv.

[2] Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 20, ed. 1891.

already mentioned, at the foundation of Glasgow University, that there was in the northern city a learned corporation having a vigorous virtual existence long before it obtained legal recognition as a university. This is perhaps a feasible explanation, but it is further to be observed that if the building was not completed till the reign of Edward IV (1461–1483) this brings us not very far off Elphinstone's date. We have however still to account for Hardyng's "goodly cytee and merchaunte towne." Here we are met by a conflict of authorities —on the one hand Buckle, who describes Scotland at this time as almost a wilderness, and on the other Pedro de Ayala, a Spanish statesman and historian, ambassador at the court of James IV, whose residence in the country was a little earlier than Hardyng's, and who speaks of it as fairly prosperous, inhabited by a people hospitable, courteous, and generally in comfortable circumstances. Though not definitely stated it is highly probable that Aberdeen was included in this general survey. Dunbar, on James and Margaret's visit in 1511, in a poem of nine verses of eight lines each, speaks very highly of Aberdeen, the last line of every verse being "Be blithe and blissful burgh of Aberdeen."

It is not safe to say more than that De Ayala's account so far lends probability to Hardyng's statement. It may be summarised thus—The towns and villages are populous. The houses are all good, built of hewn stone, provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys, and well furnished. The people are handsome, and hospitable to foreigners, but vain, and spend too much in keeping up appearances. They are courageous, strong and active. The women are exceedingly courteous, really honest, though very bold, graceful and handsome, absolute mistresses of their houses and even of their husbands, and take the management of income and expenditure. They are better dressed than English women, especially as regards their head-dress, which he thinks is the handsomest in the world. He ends by saying "There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day, as there is between bad and good[1]."

[1] Bergenroth's *Calendar of Spanish Papers*, I, pp. 169—175.

It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into a detailed account of Elphinstone's career, beyond saying that, after making a liberal discount from the marvellous qualities ascribed to him by Boece,—who is characterised by Cosmo Innes as "quite unembarrassed by facts,"—he was a man of very great ability as a statesman, untiring energy and devotion as a churchman, a conspicuous benefactor to the north-east of Scotland, free from the slightest taint of selfishness, and "has left a name to be reverenced above every other in the latter days of the ancient Scottish Church[1]." In Dalrymple's translation of Leslie's *History* a fine description of Elphinstone's character is given: Part III, 152, S.T.S. His experiences in Glasgow and Orleans, and as Rector of Glasgow University, eminently fitted him for giving a promising start to the third Scottish University. Glasgow had so far not been successful. In its constitution he discovered two serious defects. "No salaries were provided for regular lectures in the high faculties, and there was not sufficient power over the university to remedy disorders when these became general and infected the whole body[2]." In Aberdeen both these defects were remedied. Salaries were provided for teachers in the high faculties by handing over to the university the churches of Arbuthnot, Glenmyk and Abergarney with their revenues, and a visitorial power was established, the Chancellor reserving to himself a dictatorial authority to be used at his discretion depending on the reports given by the visitors.

Here as in the other Scottish universities teaching was commenced before any special buildings were erected. An inscription over the door of King's College chapel bears that the masons began to build early in 1500. The name given to the erection was the College of St Mary in nativitate but it was soon thereafter named King's College, and was completed probably in 1505.

In Elphinstone's charter of foundation we find the first use of *Principalis Collegii* as a designation of the head official, who was to be a Master in Theology.

In the universities of the middle ages the subjects taught were the seven liberal arts arranged in two divisions. In the first, called the trivium, there were three subjects, Grammar, Logic and

[1] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, xi. [2] *Ibid.* xvi.

Rhetoric, and in the second, called the quadrivium, there were four, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. This was the arrangement in Aberdeen, but in addition to these Canon Law, Civil Law, Medicine and Theology were taught. It is noteworthy that Elphinstone's scheme was at least in theory more comprehensive than that of any university in Britain, prescribing not only the three Faculties, Arts, Theology and Law, but also Medicine, for which no professorship was established in Oxford or Cambridge till near the middle of the 16th century, nor in Glasgow till 1637, nor in Edinburgh till 1685. Instruction was given in Latin, not so much as a subject of academic study, but as necessary for the prosecution of the higher studies, the teaching of which was all conducted in Latin. Philosophy based on the treatises of Aristotle was the backbone of the teaching. From the scarcity of books, dictating from the text-books was the usual method. These dictations were accompanied by notes supplied by the teacher. This practice continued for a considerable time after the supply of books made it unnecessary.

There were at first thirty-six members of the college for whose endowment provision was made. Six of these were permanent teachers of theology, canon law, civil law, medicine, the liberal arts, and grammar respectively. Five were students of theology who had taken their degree of Master of Arts, and combined with their own studies in theology the duty of regents, by taking part in the teaching of thirteen bursars who were proceeding to the degree of Master. The other twelve were prebendaries and choristers to whom less important duties were assigned. The Chancellor and Rector were usually not resident members. They were superior to all the other members. Their duties lay outside the details of teaching, and were almost entirely supervisory. The Bishop ex officio was named Chancellor in the Bull, the Rector was elected by the votes of the students in 'nations[1].' It is noteworthy that the Bull introduced a new element into the governing body of the university, by giving authority for the admission of two outsiders, Privy

[1] The earliest record of the King's College nations is Aberdeen, including Aberdeen and Banff, Angus, including Angus and Mearns, Moray, all north of the Spey, Lothian, the rest of Scotland.

Councillors, to be associated with the Chancellor and Rector in its management. The experience of St Andrews and Glasgow, which enjoyed complete immunity from interference by statesmen, perhaps suggested that a practical lay element would be valuable for keeping within bounds the too ecclesiastical views of men who had breathed only the atmosphere of the cloister.

The Chancellor nominated the six teachers above mentioned, the chief of whom was the Principal. His duties were to teach theology and undertake the general government of the university. He could command the obedience of his five colleagues. The theological students could not reside more than seven years. They as well as the bursars were admitted on the recommendation of the Rector, Principal and sub-Principal, but the bursars could reside for only three years and a half, at the end of which they were expected to graduate.

As compared with St Andrews and Glasgow, Aberdeen was in several important respects fortunate. The Pope and the King combined to promote its prosperity. From various sources to which considerations of space permit only a general reference funds were contributed. The revenues of a hospital which had long ceased to serve the purpose for which it was founded; the revenues of at least five churches; and a series of gifts from private individuals were turned to the use of the university. Taught by the misfortune of the two older institutions in having no salaries for regular lecturers, Aberdeen was able, through the untiring zeal of Elphinstone, to remedy this serious defect. This improvement came by degrees. It was at first a regulation in all European universities, that a master or doctor after taking his degree was bound to teach for a certain time. As there were no salaries, teaching could not be satisfactorily provided in any other way. After a time however this was changed for a system according to which graduates received a fee from each student, which was further followed, thanks to Elphinstone's personal influence, by the endowment of Aberdeen with an amount sufficient for the whole body of professors, within less than a dozen years after its foundation.

It is impossible to form an exact estimate of the amount which a sum quoted five centuries ago would represent at the

present day. The revenues of the hospital above referred to are quoted as being thirty pounds. On this Mr Rait remarks, "It is not easy to say what this sum really represented; for during the 14th and 15th centuries both King and parliament were constantly altering the coinage. But seeing that the buying power of money was very much greater then than now, we shall not be far wrong in supposing that this sum would represent probably not less than £300 at the present day[1]." It is at any rate reasonable to assume that emoluments sufficient to induce scholars of the reputation of Boece and Hay to accept the principalship were fairly on a level with those of modern principals and professors. Unless the coinage was much depreciated—and James IV was in this respect better than most Kings of his race—they were very considerably more.

In addition to the pious zeal of Elphinstone and the falling in of endowments, Aberdeen was fortunate in having as its first Principal a man of the experience and ability of Boece. Notwithstanding the admitted inaccuracy of his history and his tendency to exaggeration, he had many admirable qualities. He was a fellow-student and friend of Erasmus, had felt the influence of the Renaissance, and infused into the new institution a healthiness of tone which it retained after his death. There were however other circumstances which contributed to the early success of the university. The awakening effect of the Renaissance was becoming more general, and the art of printing was first introduced into Scotland in 1507.

On this Professor Hume Brown remarks, "The art had not come too soon to Scotland, for among the other glories of the time was the appearance of men of learning and genius, whose productions form part of the national inheritance. To the reign of James belong the poems of William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, who in any age must have been among the first literary figures of their time.....What is of further historical interest both in Douglas and Dunbar is the blending in them of the middle age that had gone and the new age that had come. By their larger view of life and their more direct knowledge of the

[1] Rait's *Universities of Aberdeen*, p. 43.

classical tradition they show that they have been influenced by the revival of letters; while in the moments when they remember the profession to which they both belonged, they fall back on that cloistral attitude towards men and things which is the note of medieval christianity[1]."

As already mentioned, in the universities of the middle ages every graduate was taken bound to teach for a certain time if his services were required[2]. The student on entering did not necessarily find professors ready to teach him each in his own subject. He was obliged to place himself under the charge of a qualified graduate, who carried him through the whole of his studies in all subjects. Such graduates were as already mentioned called Regents. This continued to be the regular system in Scotland till about the middle of the 18th century. To quote Sir William Hamilton, "The business of instruction was not confided to a special body of privileged professors. The university was governed, the university was taught, by the graduates at large. Professor, master, doctor were originally synonymous. Every graduate had an equal right of teaching publicly in the university the subjects competent to his Faculty, and to the rank of his degree; nay, every graduate incurred the obligation of teaching publicly.....for such was the condition involved in the grant of the degree itself.....As the university only accomplished the end of its existence through its Regents, they alone were allowed to enjoy full privileges in its legislature and government; they alone partook of its *beneficia* and *sportulae*[3]."

There is an absence of exact information as to the steps by which graduation was reached. The Bull gives to the Aberdeen authorities the power of granting degrees to deserving students after due examination, but what constituted a due examination is not specified. There is nothing more definite than what is stated by Professor Laurie in his *Lectures on the rise and early constitution of universities*. "Graduation was, in the medieval universities, simply the conferring of a qualification and right to teach (or in the case of medicine, to practise), given after a

[1] Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, vol. I, pp. 346—7.
[2] Burton's *Scot Abroad*, I, p. 257, ed. 1864.
[3] *Dissertations*, pp. 391—2 (Sir Wm. Hamilton).

certain length of attendance at a university, and an examination conducted by those already in the position of teachers[1]."

On the death of Elphinstone in 1514 Bishop Alexander Gordon became Chancellor. His short tenure of office for three years and delicate health prevented him from exercising any important influence on the Institution. With the appointment of Bishop Gavin Dunbar as Chancellor, a man of zeal and force scarcely inferior to Elphinstone, and the addition of fresh funds from various sources, some consisting of money, others of land, and others of fishings, the new Chancellor was enabled to complete the most of the schemes which Elphinstone had contemplated but only partially carried out. In 1531 Dunbar's Charter was confirmed, involving important changes in the constitution of the college and in the allocation of the revenues. The number of members of the staff was increased from 36 to 42, and their functions were altered, some having been found to work unsatisfactorily. The precise character of these changes is not certainly known. To enumerate them in detail is for the purpose of this work unnecessary. Suffice it to state that, dictated as they were, by experience of former defects, they were found to be on the whole improvements, and secured for the university such an access of prosperity as caused Ferrerius in 1534 to characterise it as "the most celebrated of the Scottish universities at that time." Mr Rait gives the following estimate of Dunbar's influence[2].

"Gavin Dunbar deserves a very high place among the benefactors of King's College. The piety with which he carried out Elphinstone's designs, the zeal which he showed in his office of Chancellor, and the liberality with which he gave to the needs of the university entitle him to our respect and gratitude. In his time the college attained its highest pre-reformation success. .....The preceding century had been rich in inventions and discoveries, the inspiration of which remained. The revival of learning had awakened Europe from the 'dogmatic slumber' of the middle ages.....No shadow of coming evil was projected across the busy scene. The college was in the full tide of

[1] Lecture XII, p. 214.
[2] Rait, p. 79.

prosperity at the close of Dunbar's life, and that prosperity was in great part due to Dunbar himself."

Mr Bulloch's appreciation of Dunbar is not less hearty. He speaks of him as the true successor of Elphinstone, and as putting the 'coapstone' on the Founder's schemes in respect of both university and public matters. By his exertions two chaplainries were endowed in the Elgin Cathedral, and a hospital was founded in Aberdeen for the maintenance of old men. He drew up a new constitution for the university, and by limiting the autocratic power of the Chancellor, and instituting the election of the Rector by 'nations,' he broadened the administration and increased the independence of the university.

From the appointment of Boece as Principal at the beginning of the 16th century to 1531 the success of the university was all that could be wished. Dunbar had the benefit of the hearty co-operation of his friend and fellow-student in Paris, William Hay, as sub-Principal, and of the zeal and ability of Vaus as grammarian.

There is nothing more inexplicable in the history of the Scottish universities than the contrast between the condition of King's College in 1530 when Dunbar died, and in 1549 when Alexander Galloway made his rectorial visit[1]. There is very little information concerning the college during these 19 years, and no evidence that the visitorial power assigned to the Rector was regularly exercised. Reference has already been made to the visit of James V and his suite in 1541. The King's high commendation of the scientific deputations and linguistic skill in Greek, Latin and other tongues seems to indicate a maintenance of zeal and hard work for the first 11 of these years, even after allowance is made for probably generous and lenient judgment on the part of the King. The first rectorial visit was made in the following year, no report of which seems to have been given or at any rate recorded. Unless the King's praise produced a

[1] He was a man of the highest reputation and a zealous coadjutor of Elphinstone in all his projects. He was Rector in 1516, again in 1521, and lastly in 1549. Boece gives him the credit of having discovered that geese grew from shellfish, for on a visit to the Hebrides, he says, "Galloway openit some of the musyll schells, but then he was mair astonyt than before. For he saw no fische in it but ane perfect shapen fowl, small and great, aye effeiring to the quantity of the schell."

sudden slackening of the reins, there could not be a great falling off in the course of a single year. The next rectorial visit was paid by Galloway in 1549, and in his report we have an absolutely appalling and inexplicable account of wreck and ruin in every direction.

What havoc these seven years had wrought! The high officials were grossly negligent, and discipline was lax. The most stringent provisions of the foundation were disregarded. The regents had to a large extent given up lecturing. There were scarcely any lay students; practically instruction was provided only for the bursars who were being educated for the Church, and even they were not attending to their work. Academic dress did not receive enough, while the growth of hair and beards received too much attention. The authorities were instructed to discourage the growth of hair and beards[1]. Financial matters were in a bad way; buildings were neglected and falling into decay. The question of food and drink required the creation of a new official—an Economus who was specially charged to see that the food was 'new,' and whose accounts were to be examined at least once a month by the Principal and sub-Principal. The regulation that Latin alone was to be spoken in the college seems also to have been broken through. No female bakers or brewers were allowed to enter the college, and no women were to be present at religious services. The students on graduation days had carried their *gaudeamus* proceedings to discreditable excess, and new restrictions were necessary.

Galloway introduced some changes in the course of study involving a partial return to Elphinstone's scheme. He ordained also that bursars should be 'poor persons' who were to be exempted from payments of any kind, but candidates for bursaries were to be examined in grammar before entrance. This is the first mention of a bursary competition. How much this competition which has come down to our own days has done for the prosperity of the university is universally

[1] The heinousness of the misdemeanour making this instruction necessary is not specified, but that it formed the subject of one of the fifty-one suggestions for improvement indicates the drastic character of the visitation, and the sincerity of the efforts which Galloway made for putting matters right.

recognised. Long before its example was followed, as it has been during the last thirty years or so, in the southern universities, Aberdeen secured by it a satisfactory guarantee for such preliminary training as to make advanced teaching profitable for the great majority of the students.

It is remarkable that in the records of Galloway's visitation no reference is made to the violent religious conflict which had fairly commenced three years before in Scotland. This seems to warrant the comment of Mr Innes that the members of the college belonged "to that party who acknowledged, and would willingly have corrected, some of the corruptions especially in life and morals which had crept into the Church, while they were not prepared to take the great leap of the Scotch reformers[1]." Aberdeen seems to have maintained for twelve years this half-hearted attitude towards the Reformation.

Of the probable changes in the college and addition of fresh endowments during these years there is no trustworthy record. The abstention of the authorities from what was a burning question in the south may be due either to its distance from the centre of the *mêlée*, or to the powerful influence of the Gordon family who were strong adherents of the old faith. It is clear that towards the end of the 16th century, Aberdeen, like St Andrews and Glasgow had all but reached the vanishing point. The history of King's College after 1560 belongs to our second period where it will be resumed.

The outstanding names in Scottish literature in the 16th century are Douglas, Lyndsay, Bellenden and Knox. Their writings afford the clearest evidence of the influence of the revival of learning on their thoughts and modes of expression. Lyndsay was much the most popular. This was due to his perfect command of the popular speech, to his intimate knowledge of the manners and feelings of the time, and to the geniality of his fancy and humour. But it is remarkable that his vivid portraiture of the lives and character of the clergy, against whom he shot his shafts of scathing satire in his *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, did not bring upon him the vengeance of a church which, though it was losing, had not yet lost its power.

[1] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, pp. xxiv—xxv.

From the preceding accounts that have been given of the three earliest universities it will be seen that they have many points in common. They were all based more or less completely on the model of the medieval universities of the Continent. We have seen that Papal authority was required and obtained for giving them as learned communities self-government, immunity from taxation, power to give degrees, and liberty to teach; that owing to the poverty of the country, and the selfishness of the nobility and proprietors, they were obliged to be content with these powers and privileges; that they were dependent on the support given them by only such church dignitaries as took a warm interest in them; that such support was individual, and by no means so general as might have been expected from a wealthy catholic church; that their aim was primarily ecclesiastical and secondarily educational; that their progress and expansion were hindered by international struggles, and that at last in 1560 from a variety of causes their very existence was all but extinguished.

CHAPTER VI

BURGH AND OTHER SCHOOLS FROM 1560 TO 1696.

WE have seen in our first period that up to the Reformation the Church gave effective support to education. Its power however was on the wane under the widening influence of ideas which ultimately found expression in the Reformation. On the occurrence of that great event a large part of the patrimony of the Old Church was appropriated by a greedy nobility; the New Church succeeded in retaining some part, but little was left for education. If in these circumstances education suffered, as it certainly did, it was not due to indifference on the part of Knox and the reformers. While the reformed church can justly claim to have taken the first energetic step in promoting general or elementary education, the paramount aim of the new as of the old church was not so much education for its own sake, as security for the spread and establishment of what they considered true religion. Knox's scheme, set forth in the first book of discipline, was unfortunately not carried out. Its marvellous wisdom, comprehensiveness, and unity of plan have been the admiration of educationists during the three and a half centuries which have since run their course; its consummation is to-day the goal which they are striving to reach, and which seems nearer attainment than at any previous epoch.

An Act of Parliament was passed in 1567 giving the Church power to appoint superintendents, to whom was committed the

duty of deciding as to the qualifications of teachers, but neither by it, nor by the appeal to parliament in the second book of discipline, was there any restitution of church money for behoof of schools[1]. Even the Act of 1592, which ratified all the former Acts dealing with church judicatories, confines itself to the cheap ordinance that all schools and colleges should be reformed, but leaves untouched the provision of means by which reformation is to be effected[2].

It cannot be said that the falling off in education can be charged against town councils generally. All over the country they had great difficulties to contend with, which they did their best to overcome. Even in Edinburgh the council were obliged to make use of a part of St Giles as a school. In 1560 we find in the burgh records that the last portion of the church was converted into a school, tolbooth, prison house, and clerk's chamber, "because of the gret inquietation thai haif had in tymes past within the tolbooth for lack of rowme to minister justice...and considerin the skant of prisoun houssis and incommoditie of thair clerkis chalmer, and for inhalding of the yeirlie maill of the samyn, and gret soomes of money debursit for thair scole...and having enough of rowme in the kirk to make a tolbooth,...and also rowme for a scole for thair bairns...thai all in ane voice concludes, decerns and ordaines the dene of gilde with all deligence to big up ane stane wall &c.[3]" Then follow distinct specifications for the work.

The scheme of Knox and his brother reformers contemplated the establishment of first a school in connection with every kirk or parish, in which the ordinary branches and Latin should be taught; second, a higher school or college in cities and notable towns; and third, university instruction for those who showed aptness for learning. Provision was to be made for competent masters. The rich were to be compelled to educate their children at their own expense, the poor who could not pay for their education were to be supported by the Church, so that poor and rich alike, if they were of "good engine," should continue at

[1] Act, 1567. [2] Act, 1592.
[3] *Edinburgh Burgh Records.*

the colleges "until the commonwealth have profit of them," and should then proceed to further knowledge at the university, or be sent to a "handicraft or other profitable exercise."

That Latin is set down as one of the subjects to be taught in the ordinary school need not excite surprise, in view of the fact that, at this time, Latin—some of it doubtless sadly wanting in both accuracy and purity—was the language in which masters and pupils talked to each other in the process of teaching. We are not shut up to the conclusion that Latin, for its own sake, was a subject of instruction to every pupil in the class, which would be as foolish and as wasteful of valuable time then as now. We have seen above that Knox had alternative treatment for pupils of different capacity. Those who have aptness for learning are to proceed to further knowledge at the university, but others are to be sent to a handicraft or other profitable exercise. It is pretty certain that Knox did not intend that the embryonic handicraftsman, who was to make a profitable exercise of his life, should waste his time in grinding at Latin grammar. He knew that there were pupils for whom university training would be of no benefit either to themselves or to their country, pupils who were intended by nature to be hewers of wood or drawers of water, and whose proper and unalterable sphere of action was handicraft or other functions subordinately intellectual.

One cannot but admire the patriotic wisdom of that other phrase "until the commonwealth have profit of them." Have we not in it the seed of that growth of which Scotland is justly proud—its position in the van of educated nations—the grand aim of education as being not position, wealth, and other objects of reasonable ambition, that have however a savour of pardonable selfishness about them, but the profit of the commonwealth?

Knox's estimate of the importance of education, as the surest foundation of national prosperity, recalls the opinion, already quoted, of Ninian Winzet. Doughty champions both, one of the old, the other of the new faith, sufferers both at the hands of those who opposed them, they had in common a noble conception of the means by which a nation was to gain power and

pre-eminence. Winzet stated his views in general terms, but with perfect clearness. Knox furnished a definite plan by which his views could be carried out. Thanks to remissness on the part of parliament and rapacity on the part of the nobles, that plan was only partially successful. All, rich and poor alike, were to receive as much education as they could turn to profitable use. The ascent from the primary through the secondary school to the university was to be open to all who were qualified by natural ability to make it, and by this means the best brain of the country, from whatever class, was to be utilised. In the face of great difficulties this aim has never been entirely lost sight of, and even to the present day the conception is more or less fully realised. Had parliament been more patriotic, and the barons less greedy, Scotland would, in its educational system and position, have been, even more than it is, the envy of other nations.

We thus see that, both before and for a long time after the Reformation, the Church took a very keen interest in education. In the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, the General Assembly appointed Commissions for establishing schools and supplying funds for the education of poor scholars in the six most northern counties[1]. It also made most vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to retain or regain from the unscrupulous barons parts of the pious foundations made to schools before the Reformation. It protested in vain against the secularisation of the patrimony of the Church, and "overtured parliament to erect and maintain grammar schools in all burghs and other considerable places, on the ground that the 'good estate of the kirk and commonwealth mainly depended on the flourishing of learning[2],'" and, as the proper sources for supporting schools had entirely failed, it prayed parliament to provide other means so that poor children who are of "good engine" might be educated.

The Church records in the latter half of the 16th century abound in suggestions, prayers, and complaints to Queen Mary, and, after her imprisonment and exile, to the Regent and Council, as to the application for the support of education, of

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 34, 239.
[2] Act of Parliament, 1641, v, 646.

rents, of "sources hitherto devoted to idolatry[1]," and the necessity of "reforming the nobility in their wrongful using of the patrimony of the kirk to the great hurt of the schools[2]." The Church meanwhile did not confine herself to appeals for restitution of her rights. Scanty as were her means, she sent from her own exchequer liberal contributions for salaries to teachers, and education for poor scholars. The session records up to the end of the 17th century of Stirling, Dunfermline, Aberdeen, Crail and elsewhere bear testimony to payments from the session-box for these purposes.

As this was the attitude of the Church towards the schools, it was to be expected that she should have a large share in their management. This was so. It is beyond question, that from the Reformation to the passing of the Act of 1872, the appointment of masters to the parish schools was entirely in the hands of the Church. It is probably safe to say that this has never been disputed. With regard to burgh schools, it cannot be maintained that acquiescence in the prerogative of the Church was so complete. It is however certain that amid the alternations of supremacy, resembling the game of battledore and shuttlecock, between Presbytery and Episcopacy from 1560 to 1688, the party for the time being in power, whether presbyterial or episcopal, claimed the right of the appointment of masters for all schools, parish and burgh. The General Assembly in its day of power was no whit more persistent in its contention, than the Bishop and Archbishop when they had the upper hand. Between 1638 and 1699 the Assembly passed four Acts in which superintendence of all schools and the appointment of teachers are claimed by the Church. Nor can it be said that this was the outcome of clerical arrogance. They could point to Acts of Parliament showing that they had law on their side. In Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 82, we have abundant evidence that this was the attitude of the rival churches. "The Act of Parliament 1567 provides that in all schools to burgh and landward, no one may instruct the youth but such as shall be tried by the superintendent or visitor of the kirk[3]. The Act of 1584

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 17. [2] *Ibid.* p. 253.
[3] Acts of Parliament, III, 24, 38; ratified 1581, c. 1, III, 210.

requires masters of schools and colleges to conform with humility to the acts commanding obedience to the bishops or commissioners appointed to have spiritual jurisdiction in the diocese, under pain of deprivation[1]. The Act of 1662 forbids any one to teach a public school or be pedagogue to the children of persons of quality, without a licence of the ordinary of the diocese[2]. The Act of 1693 declares that all schoolmasters shall be liable to the trial, judgment, and censure of the presbyteries for their sufficiency, qualification and deportment[3]. In the Act of 1707 which was incorporated in the Treaty of Union it is provided that no master shall bear office in any school without submitting to the discipline of the Established Church[4]."

It is unnecessary to accumulate further proof that the Church claimed and parliament sanctioned this superintendence of all public schools. But jurisdiction was not confined to public schools. Private tuition at home, and education in Roman Catholic countries abroad, were subject to the same limitations. Parents who sent their children to countries where there was danger of infection from the "leprosy of poperie" were ordered to bring them home, on pain of excommunication[5]. Private tutors to the sons of noblemen were obliged to declare solemnly before the presbytery that they had never worshipped in any but Protestant Churches[6].

Throughout the later 16th and the 17th centuries the exercise of the kirk's jurisdiction over schools in respect of both appointment and dismissal of masters was seldom called in question. The state of matters in the 18th century will be dealt with in a future chapter. The town councils began soon after the Reformation to take more interest in schools, but the kirk and burgh authorities, as a rule, worked amicably into each other's hands. Between the two a give-and-take spirit seems to

[1] Act of Parliament, 1584, c. 2, III, 347.
[2] *Ibid.* 1662, c. 13, VII, 379.
[3] *Ibid.* 1693, c. 38, IX, 303.
[4] *Ibid.* 1707, c. 6, XI, 403, 414.
[5] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 437.
[6] *Presbytery Records of Aberdeen.* The tutor of the Master of Caithness had spent two years in France and could give only a modified declaration on this point, which was however accepted. He had a pardonable desire to look on Royalty, and being unable to "have the sight of the King except at the messe, he went there, but gave no reverence to the messe which he abhors."

have been developed, the councils recognising what the kirk had done and was doing for education, and the kirk seeing the benefit of carrying the councils with her, as being both able and willing to supplement her all too scanty resources. It is not necessary to give minute details of individual instances. It is perhaps sufficient to say that in upwards of twenty cases there is evidence that hearty co-operation characterised what may be called the dual control of the councils and the Church party, whether that party was at the time Presbyterial or Episcopal.

In some cases the council appointed the master, but in almost every instance the intimation of the appointment was followed by such phrases as "by the admission of the kirk," "after being tryit by the kirk," "being examined by the presbytery," "on the report of the minister," etc.

While the foregoing remarks represent the general relation of the councils to the kirk in the matter of the patronage of schools, we find some indications in the 17th century of the awakening effect of the Reformation,—instances in which instead of acquiescence in, we find resistance to ecclesiastical control. The Reformation unquestionably contributed largely to the transference of patronage from the Church to municipal authority. The extent to which the claims of the Church were resisted depended on circumstances—the respective tempers of churchmen and councils, and the pliability or obstinacy of the teacher. In many cases the council appealed to the Church for help and advice, in others the authority of the Church was flatly denied. In 1580 the teacher of the Canongate school handed over to the council of the burgh "as his undoubted patrons" his office, though he had received the appointment for life from the commendator of Holyrood[1].

Fifty years later the council of Perth unanimously declared that the kirk session had no power to appoint a master of the grammar school, and gave the office to John Row. At his induction the council invited the ministry to be present, but they refused[2].

[1] *Register of the Canongate.*

[2] *Burgh Records of Perth.* They refused "being mychtele miscontent because the counsall appointed him haillelie by thair own aduys, quhairupone the ministrie daylie

Other similar instances are recorded of the jealousy with which town councils resisted any attempt at encroaching on their right of appointing teachers, but they are comparatively few. In 1620 the council of Burntisland were so anxious to establish their prescriptive right in this respect, that for many years they insisted on the master annually going through the ceremony of handing to the council at the end of the year the keys of the school and dwelling house, as an acknowledgment that they were the patrons. The keys were of course ceremoniously handed back at once[1]. While there is little to admire in this very parochial and ostentatious assertion of proprietorship, one sees in it evidence of healthy interest in education which might be turned to good account.

So early as the 17th century the conversion of a burgh school into a burghal and parochial, and ultimately into a purely parochial school, had commenced in Inverury and Jedburgh. In the former the master was at first paid entirely from the common good of the burgh, but in the course of a year a new master was appointed whose salary was paid partly from the common good and partly from voluntary contributions. This continued for forty-two years, when the school became entirely parochial[2]. In Jedburgh the grammar school was under the sole management of the council, but in 1656 the heritors were admitted to the joint management, an equal number on each side forming a committee for the election of the teacher[3].

Schools partly burghal and partly parochial are found in unimportant burghs where one school was sufficient, and where the council and landward heritors shared the expense of maintenance. This conversion or combination was usually, but not always, arranged amicably in respect of both payment of salary and appointment of master. In some cases the patronage was alternatively exercised by the heritors and minister at one time, and by the minister and council at another. As a rule, the town councils were more active in the election of teachers and manage-

raillit out of the pulpett aganes the provest, baillies, and counsall, and thairefter did complene to the presbiterie."

[1] *Report on Burgh Schools*, II, 95.

[2] *Burgh Records of Inverury.*

[3] *Burgh Records of Jedburgh.*

ment than were the kirk-session and heritors. No good purpose would be served by going more fully into the details of separate cases. Those mentioned may be taken as typical.

Just as monopolies were granted for the sale of ordinary commodities, so prohibition of sending boys to any but the public and music schools, which has already been referred to, was prevalent all over Scotland from early times, and continued till near the beginning of the 19th century. It does not appear that this was due to presumed or proved incompetence in the private teacher, but simply because such private teaching was a hindrance to the prosperity of the recognised public school. There may have been, and probably were, then as now, a number of incompetent teachers whose qualifications were inferior to those of the public schoolmaster, but there were no doubt among them men of the requisite ability to whom the town councils might with propriety have given license to teach. Their refusal indicates not so much a general zeal for education, as an overweening desire for the success of the schools under their management, which has a savour of unwholesome trades-unionism. The prohibition was only partially successful notwithstanding the pains and penalties threatened, and in many cases enforced, on those who disobeyed the injunctions of the council. The penalties varied in different districts—in some cases a payment of 20 shillings, in others £5 and £10 Scots to the master of the grammar school for every child taught in an adventure school. Sometimes the risk of having "the Scole durris steikit [shut] up" was added.

The disobedience of even ex-provosts and ex-bailies was punished with the same rigour. Two such dignitaries in Peebles were each fined £10 Scots, and ordained to lie in prison till the fines were paid. In Banff, banishment awaited those who contravened the orders of the council. The education of girls seems to have received less attention, but schools kept by women in which girls were taught to "sew and wyive pearling allanerlie[1]" were not so stringently prohibited. The catechism and psalm-book seem to have been taught to boys in schools kept by women and in the sang schools. The maximum age at

[1] This means that sewing and knitting of stockings alone were taught.

which boys were allowed to remain at these elementary schools varied greatly, being in some districts six, and in others seven, eight, and even ten. As a rule, as soon as they could read the psalm-book, they had to remove to the public school.

This narrowness of view and disregard of the claims to general education by the poor was sure to come to an end, as we shall see it did, when we come to treat of the 18th century. That private schools continued to exist notwithstanding the prohibitions ordained, and the penalties inflicted, and amid the shock and turmoil of war, and political and ecclesiastical commotion, furnishes a remarkable proof of the value attached to education by the average citizen. The persistency and courage with which he faced and, to a large extent, overcame municipal ordinances challenge our highest admiration.

While we may legitimately question or even condemn the municipal zeal which strove to suppress private schools as misdirected, we cannot in view of the frequency and rigidity of their visitations and examinations doubt its genuineness. In these there was a powerful combination of ecclesiastical, municipal and academic elements. Acts of Assembly and of Parliament[1] were passed fixing the time, method, and object of visits by presbyteries, heritors, town councils, and universities to grammar schools and Scots schools, *Scholae triviales vernaculae.* These latter were probably the representatives of the schools which Knox aimed at establishing in connection with every kirk or parish. The time of visit varied. In some cases it was half-yearly, in others quarterly, in others monthly. The visitors were charged with the duty of seeing that pious and qualified masters were appointed, and scandalous and negligent ones removed. They had also to see that they signed the Confession of Faith. The revenues of the school passed under review, and rules for their management were laid down[2].

The visitations authorised by the town councils seem to have been more searching in their character than those ordered by the kirk and parliament, and were commenced with varying expedition in different burghs. Glasgow led the way near the

[1] Acts of Parliament, 1655, 1658, VI, Part II, 826, 876.
[2] *Ibid.* 1690, c. 25, IX, 163.

end of the 16th century. Stirling and Aberdeen seem not to have moved in the matter till early in the 17th, Perth not till 1630, Edinburgh not till 1640, and Paisley in 1646. The reports of these visitations vary much in fulness. In some cases it is simply intimated that a visitation was made. The account given of a Glasgow visitation near the end of the 16th century shows the character and extent of the proceedings in that city and possibly in other burghs. It is provided that men of eminence shall twice a year examine the grammar school. These examiners were appointed by the council and the university. The master intimated the coming examination to the scholars twenty days before. Each class was examined in the work done. To the two higher classes were dictated themes in the vulgar tongue which were to be translated into Latin and given to the examiners. After the examination the pupils who had not done well were reproved and, if unfit to be promoted, were put back, while those who had done well received signal honours and rewards. Next day the Scots school was to be examined, and intimation given to those who had been found fit to commence the study of Latin. In this shortened account from the original in the Archives of Glasgow we have evidence of the existence of a most important function of examination, which at some time during the course of the four succeeding centuries was departed from, and within comparatively recent years restored in the classification of Glasgow High School, Edinburgh Academy, and elsewhere—the promotion from a lower to a higher class by proved fitness for advancement.

Much the same account is given of the examination of Edinburgh High School, with the addition that when the scholars are dismissed and the examiners have reported how the youth have profited, the master and doctors shall be removed, and enquiry made as to whether any fault can be found with them. In Paisley and Aberdeen the visitation was once a month. Of the regulations under eight heads found in the Aberdeen registers it is not necessary to say more than that they exhibit the thoroughness with which these visitations were conducted. One of them may be referred to as setting an example which in these modern days might be followed with

advantage: "there shall be public acting at every quarterly visitation that the scholars may learn boldness and a vivacity in public speaking[1]."

It would not be difficult to find objections to such frequent visitations, but we have in them a proof of keen interest and careful supervision on the part of the municipal authorities.

In every large school there were school laws written in "gryt letteris on a brod," so that there should be no pretence of not knowing them. They covered the entire work of both masters and pupils. All schools were opened and closed with prayer, as many are now. As already mentioned Latin was the language usually spoken in both school and playground. Other languages might be used, but not the vernacular. This was a rule faithfully observed till the early part of the 18th century. The injunction to use no expression that was not classical was doubtless but indifferently observed.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the hours of school attendance were inordinately long, commencing at 5 or 6 in the morning and continuing, with a break of two hours during the day, till 6 in the evening. To give a detailed account of different districts is unnecessary. It is sufficient to say that everywhere they were so long as to be pronounced intolerable in this age of societies for preventing cruelty to children. Modifications were gradually introduced, but even in the 18th century the attendance in some of the grammar schools was not less than eight hours. The hours of the English master were less oppressive. To the Town Council of Dunbar is due the credit of setting the example of half-holidays.

In some cases there was compensation for long daily attendance in two hours of recreation on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and on Saturdays from two o'clock for the rest of the day[2]. Occasional holidays on special occasions such as the visit of a distinguished stranger were given in old times much as they are now, and while the Candlemas offering was a school institution it was followed by a holiday. There were other occasions of holidays in connection with the cutting of bent or rushes, with which, on the

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 150. By *acting* probably only recitation is meant.

[2] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, 16.

score of comfort and cleanliness, the earthen floor of the school was strewed. Several holidays were allowed for this. Early in the 17th century the cutting of bent was discontinued because of accidents arising from the use of the hooks required for the work. For this there was substituted a contribution of twelve pennies, called bent silver, in May, June, and July by every scholar. The holidays, however, were continued. Aberdeen seems to have been less exacting in the matter of bent silver[1].

Games did not occupy a very prominent place in school life. Archery, bowls, golf, handball, and wrestling were practised, but apparently without definite system or rules. Cards, dice, and playing for money were forbidden, and in Glasgow, scholars who resorted to yards in which "aliebowlis, glakis, and French kyles" were practised did so under pain of £10[2]. The day of cricket and football had not yet come, but the need of physical recreative exercise as an element of school life was recognised and reasonably attended to.

The question of holidays gave the patrons of schools a great amount of trouble throughout the whole of the 16th and 17th centuries. The newly awakened Protestant feeling against everything savouring of popery led them to object to festival holidays of every kind, but especially to those of Christmas, "the superstitious time of Yule[3]." In this objection schoolboys naturally did not share, with the result that in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and

[1] *Aberdeen Burgh Records.* "The provost and bailies, upon certain good respects and considerations moving them, discharge the master of the grammar school in giving leave to the bent, or in exacting any bent silver by reason of the inconvenience that falls out frequently by the occasion foresaid."

[2] Aliebowlis was probably a game with bowls in an alley. There are still bowling alleys in connection with taverns. Glakis was a puzzle with some notched pieces of wood which it was difficult to undo and replace in their former position. French kyles is probably the old name for the modern *nine pins*, a game not yet extinct and not uncommon in the latter half of last century. The yards in which these games were played may have been disreputable, but nine pins is in itself harmless.

Paisley was in a bad plight. In the *Burgh Records* we find that the council, "moved by certain ongoings in their midst, ordain that changers [innkeepers] selling drink to scholars shall pay £10 of money, and be discharged in future from brewing."

[3] Even so late as December 21, 1642, the following entry is found in the *Aberdeen Burgh Records*, "The same day the provost and bailies ordain the hail inhabitants of this town their bairns, repair and keep the school precisely upon Sunday next and the week thereafter, under pain of ten pounds. Intimation to be made by the drum."

elsewhere violent rebellions were of frequent occurrence. In spite of Acts of Parliament, and ordinances of town councils, the boys in Aberdeen in 1604 refused to be deprived of their old privilege, took possession of the school, and held it by armed force "with swords, guns, pistols, and other weapons, spoiling and taking poor folks gear,—geese, fowls, and other vivers [victuals] and repyning altogether to the discipline of the master." In consequence of this, the council passed an order that no pupil is to be admitted to the school unless some friend or parent gives caution for his behaviour, and that he shall not join in taking possession of the school under the pain of £20. In subsequent years the rebellious conduct was repeated.

Discipline seems to have been lax in Aberdeen in other matters than holidays. We find another record about this time bearing that the writing master was attacked in the street and seriously wounded with dirks and batons to great effusion of blood[1].

We find evidence of the same rebellious spirit in Edinburgh. In 1580, eight scholars were imprisoned and fined forty shillings each for holding the school in defiance of the masters and breaking of one of the doors.

The Christmas holidays were not the only occasions of riot and even dangerous violence. Similar disagreements between masters and scholars arose in connection with the autumn holidays. In 1587 the scholars of the Edinburgh High School barred out the famous master, Mr Rollock, and "proudly and contemptuously held it against the Lord Provost and the balies who were compelled to ding [break] in pieces one of the doors." When this was done the scholars were found armed with pistols, swords, halberts, and other weapons. Eight years later we have proof of the dangerous character of these outbreaks. On this

[1] There is another entry that Alexander Forbes asks pardon of Mr William Wedderburn, one of the masters in the school, for "giving him ane cuff in passing to the grammar school, and promises whatever satisfaction the provost may ordain." He ordains that Forbes, "being sorry and grieved for his wrang, must go presently to the grammar school, and there, in all humility on his knees in presence of the magistrates and master of the school and scholars, sit down on his knees, acknowledge and confess his fault and crave pardon." All which he did. *Burgh Records of Aberdeen.*

occasion the scholars went to the council and petitioned for a holiday. On their petition being refused, they procured arms of various kinds, and took possession of the school. Mr Rollock being thus barred out applied to the magistrates for help. A member of the town council, John Macmorran, came with a party of men to help in getting access to the school, and on his attempting to force the door was shot in the head and killed[1].

It is not difficult to find some palliation for the rebellion of high-spirited boys in connection with the shortening of their holidays. Old customs die hard. Schoolboys were not without excuse for thinking that a sacrifice of ten days of immemorial holidays was an extravagant estimation of the extent to which they were expected to abhor the errors of popery. Till well past the middle of last century in some Aberdeenshire schools a petition was put on the master's desk before he came in on the morning of Shrove Tuesday, asking for a holiday[2]. At the same time a similar custom existed in Glasgow University. A selected party of students called on certain of the professors on special occasions with the same request, which was usually granted.

In the burgh records of all important towns we have abundant evidence of the keen interest felt, and of the earnest efforts made by town councils, to secure for the office of master the men with the highest qualifications. They were as a rule chosen without fear or favour. It was extremely rare that a man was appointed by testimonials or correspondence, and when such occasion arose, he was taken on probation and definitely appointed only after his probation was announced to be satisfactory. By the results of a fair and apparently strict examination the election was made. Some of the examinations, judged by the books on which the candidates were tested, seem to indicate high classical attainments, such as translating *ad aperturam* Horace, Juvenal, Hesiod and Plautus. It is not easy to discover how much accuracy was demanded, but the impression left by the entries in the records is that the test was reasonably high. There was usually a

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, pp. 187—188.

[2] It was always in the same words: "Beef brose and sautie bannocks day. Please give us the afternoon." The afternoon was spent according to the weather in a "snawba' bicker" [a snowball fight] or a game of shinty (hockey), in still earlier times in a cockfight, the victims becoming the property of the schoolmaster.

competition between two or more candidates. In several cases, where there was no competition, the candidate was found disqualified, or admitted on probation when the examiners did not agree as to his fitness. For the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1602 two candidates came forward, and were examined by the learned men of Old and New Aberdeen, with the result that a dead heat was declared, and both men were appointed. How far this was successful is not recorded. The master after being presented, and before he was admitted to the office, was obliged, like all officers of state, to take the oath *de fideli administratione*. Every condition as to orthodoxy, loyalty, character, and ability being satisfied, there was usually a ceremonial admission to office, the patrons taking him by the hand, and presenting him with some symbol of authority, in some cases a grammar, and in others the key of the school and tawse, the analogue of the English cane or birch[1].

In the 17th century the appointment of assistant teachers took various forms. In one place the Rector appointed his assistants subject to the approval of the council. In another the council made the appointments subject to the approval of the Rector. In another the Rector's authority was absolute. In other and the worst cases the teachers were independent of each other, the authority and even the name of Rector being abolished. The action of the patrons was sometimes empirical, depending on the success or failure of previous experiments. There can be no doubt that the best form was to have the Rector as the central source of authority, the other teachers having the right of appeal to the patrons in the event of an abuse of authority.

During the period now being dealt with—the later 16th and the 17th centuries—the tenure of office was insecure. The main forms of tenure were three, (1) the pleasure of the town council *durante bene placito*; (2) for a definite period; (3) for life, *ad vitam aut culpam*. By far the most numerous appointments were for a definite period; the next were those made during pleasure. The number of life appointments was comparatively small, the first occurring in Haddington in 1563, which was soon

[1] *Burgh Records of Perth and Cupar.*

thereafter followed in Crail and Edinburgh. Appointments made at the pleasure of the council left the teacher completely in the power of the patrons. We have little information as to whether a kindly and judicious use was made of this power, but the position of the teacher was unfortunate, and it would be strange if there were not then, as now, cases in which a harsh use was made of a little brief authority. Appointments for a definite period ranged from eleven years to a quarter of a year. Here the teacher had the advantage of a definite contract into which he entered with his eyes open. By far the largest number of appointments *ad vitam aut culpam* belong to the 18th century.

From the Reformation to 1690 almost continuously the position of the schoolmaster was far from comfortable. Removal from office was a perpetual threat and possibility according as Presbyterianism or Episcopacy had for the time the upper hand. Signature to the Confession of Faith was imperative on all schoolmasters. Roman Catholics in office were, on refusing subscription, dismissed. In this action the kirk was sometimes backed up by the municipal authorities.

Considerations of space forbid an enumeration of instances. Suffice it to say that by Act of Parliament in 1640 subscription to the Confession was not only demanded from teachers, but parents who refused obedience to the demands of the Church then in the ascendant were deprived of their children, for whose education in the true faith means were provided[1]. This was carried out without respect of persons. Peer and peasant were subjected to the same treatment. The General Assembly had even the courage to "deal earnestly" with the King for allowing his daughter to live in the company of Lady Livingstone, an "obstinate papist[2]." During Cromwell's rule there was some modification in this respect. All but Roman Catholics had, so far as election to office was concerned, liberty of choice in the exercise of their religion[3].

With the Restoration, Episcopacy being then established, parliament passed an Act embodying a Declaration, which made

[1] Act of Parliament, 1640, v, 272.
[2] *Annals of Linlithgow parish.*
[3] Act of Parliament, 1655, vi, part ii, 827.

it imperative that teachers should sign a bond declaring that it was unlawful for a subject to enter into leagues and covenants[1]. Obedience to this was, as might be expected, refused by many teachers who declined to yield to the demands of "black prelacy," and were consequently removed from office. While it was in force it pressed cruelly on teachers. In Forfar, Linlithgow, Paisley, Aberdeen, Ayr, Edinburgh, dismissals took place. It was followed by another Act in 1681, more offensive and intolerable, and having the same motive, putting as Wodrow says "the gravestone upon the Covenant," and extinguishing personal liberty[2].

On the advent of the Revolution in 1688 and establishment of Presbyterianism, tests were not abolished, but simply changed. Roman Catholics were still excluded from all offices, civil or military. The oaths imposed were for the protection of Presbyterianism instead of Episcopacy. Subscription to the Confession of Faith was still binding on teachers by the Act of 1690, which was ratified by the Union, with an addendum that the teachers must conform themselves to the worship presently in use in the Church, and never endeavour directly or indirectly to prejudice the same[3].

It was not unnatural, and perhaps essentially human, that Presbyterians, now that their turn had come, should follow and even better the example set by their Episcopal rivals in similar circumstances. It is difficult to say to which of the two the palm for intolerance should be awarded. Toleration and conscience clauses were not thought of. The time for the discussion of religious questions in a calm give-and-take spirit had not yet come. It is satisfactory to observe that the arrogation to themselves, on the part of clerics in all ages and creeds, of a special and quasi-heaven-sent commission to keep things right, and dictate to the laity, is considerably less pronounced now than in former times.

The causes for which teachers could be dismissed were various. They were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the throne. In the period now being dealt with there does not appear any

[1] Act of Parliament, 1662, c. 54, VII, 405. It was rescinded in 1690.
[2] *Ibid.* 1681, c. 6, VIII, 243. [3] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 271.

record of dismissal in connection with this. There are a great many cases under the head of infirmity. We have abundant evidence of the zeal for education shown by the town councils, but one is tempted to doubt as to whether their zeal was tempered by judgment and kindly feeling. A number of dismissals are, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, apparently heartless. The reasons variously given are of the following character:—"because of old age," "from weakness unable to wait upon the school," "being seized with palsy the school is vacant," &c. In very few cases is there any mention of provision for an old age that was almost certainly impecunious.

Dismissals on account of inefficiency are also numerous. With these there is probably no fault to be found, if all the circumstances were taken into account. The grounds are variously stated:—"children attracted to other schools," "inefficient to await on the school," "school has fallen into decay," "children not instructed sufficiently," "school decayed to the great hurt and discredit of the burgh," "school desolate, the children vaiging (playing truant) and committing evil things by not being kept to school," "supine negligence and many other faults," "the master not known in the new method of teaching English," &c.

Severity of discipline is also the reason of many dismissals. The burgh records of Jedburgh, Arbroath, Glasgow, and other towns make mention of instances of excessively severe discipline. In 1699 in Moffatt a boy died from the effects of cruel punishment. The master was brought to trial, and the judges found the treatment of the boy "relevant to infer the pains of death," but instead of the extreme penalty of hanging, the master was taken from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh by the hangman, first to the middle of the Lawnmarket where he received seven severe stripes and then to the Fountain-well where he received other five similar stripes, and was then banished forth of the kingdom never to return under the highest pains[1]. Punishments were in the past more severe than they are now, but the masters were carefully watched by the council in the use they made of the rod, and when undue severity was proved against them they were either censured or removed.

[1] *History of the Rod*, p. 183.

Teachers were frequently dismissed for quarrelling with each other. Quarrels arose from very defective organisation. There was no central source of authority. In large schools each teacher had charge of a separate branch, the fees from which formed a substantial part of his emoluments. There was consequently a strong temptation for every member of the staff not only to canvass for pupils for himself, but also to poach upon the preserves of others, by secretly teaching other branches than his own. This system was not uncommon so late as twenty-five or thirty years ago. It is probably now extinct, and not too soon.

Schoolmasters were sometimes dismissed for immorality, drunkenness and fighting to the effusion of blood[1].

The case of John Cunningham is a peculiarly sad one. He was accused in 1591 of witchcraft. An admission was wrung from him, when put to the torture, that he had had meetings with the devil, and had done many impossible feats. When he was released from torture, he said the admission he had made was not true, whereupon he was subjected again to the most terrible suffering in the presence of King James, who interpreted the poor man's refusal to make a second admission as a proof that the devil had entered his heart. He was condemned and burnt[2].

As already mentioned teachers were too often dismissed owing to old age and decrepitude with no provision whatever for the remainder of their days. The records of the 16th century furnish few examples of such provision. There are more in the 17th, but even then they are far from numerous. This may have been a necessity from want of funds, but if so, it was a sad necessity. The council frequently signified their satisfaction with aged teachers by making them honorary burgesses and guild brothers, which was not then, as it is now, a mere compliment, but carried with it substantial privileges, not only for

[1] In 1697 James Bean, schoolmaster, of Kirkcudbright, and John Campbell, were fined and imprisoned for "venting and expressing" against each other "several unchristian words, such as confoundit lyers, knaves, begerlie rascals, and the lyke, which brak furth in strocks ane upon the other." And Henry Gibson, schoolmaster, of Kirkcudbright, and John Walker, burgess there, were indicted for "mutuall blood and batterie, being in excess of drink." *Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.*

[2] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 283.

the teacher himself, but in some cases for his children also. In some cases they were exempted from the payment of certain taxes and common burdens in the burgh. Presents of small sums of money, a new hat, or piece of plate, were also indications of satisfaction. A yearly pension was of rare occurrence, and there was no stated provision for superannuated teachers. From the earliest times to the period now being dealt with, the masters of burgh schools had not been entitled to demand pensions, when infirmity and old age, though preceded by long and excellent service, had made resignation imperative. That higher education suffered seriously from this is beyond doubt: that it retained a certain amount of vitality is matter for surprise.

The dignity attached to the position of the master of the grammar school in pre-Reformation times was in the 17th century much lowered. He still had duties outside his proper office, but they were no longer such as made him a fellow-worker with high state officials. He still had some semi-clerical functions, reading prayers[1], acting as precentor[2] and session clerk[3]; others secular, such as being clerk of the burgh, guyding and keeping the clock[4], walking the marches of the burgh[5]. On great occasions such as the visit of Queen Anne of Denmark after her marriage with James VI, Hercules Rollock of Edinburgh High School delivered a congratulatory oration[6]. But to a considerable extent the glory had departed.

Patrons of schools in their zeal for education naturally objected to teachers engaging in any occupation likely to interfere with their proper duties. In this objection they were backed up by the Convention of Royal Burghs, who requested parliament to pass an act forbidding men to be both schoolmasters and ministers[7]. The General Assembly had the same view and ordained the visitors of grammar schools to see that this was attended to. The teachers on the other hand naturally disliked this prohibition against supplementing their miserably small incomes, and sometimes contrived to get permission to be

[1] *Burgh Records of Paisley.*
[2] *Burgh Records of Haddington, Burgh Records of Ayr.*
[3] *Burgh Records of Haddington.*
[4] *Maitland Club Miscellany*, II, 46.
[5] *Report on Burgh Schools*, II, 115.
[6] Steven's *High School*, 21.
[7] *Record of Convention of Royal Burghs*, 241.

pluralists, subject to their efficiency in school being maintained. In numerous instances the minister of the parish was permitted, on certain conditions, to be at the same time master of the grammar school[1].

We have seen that by the famous Act of 1496 barons, freeholders, and men of substance were held bound to have their children satisfactorily educated. This was not enough for Knox, who, in drawing up his first Book of Discipline in 1560, proposed that all fathers of whatever estate should be compelled to have their children trained in learning and virtue. If parents were too poor to meet the expense, funds must be furnished from the public purse. Parents who were able to pay but neglected the admonition were to be compelled to make full payment, whether they sent their children to school or not, and were besides to be fined. Attendance at school was made a condition of the poor receiving alms. Poor children who attended school were allowed three hours daily for seeking their meat through the town. If food was still wanting, the kirk session provided it[2].

Let it be granted that Town Councils and the Church in their pursuit of what was best for education fell into mistakes which later experience enables us to avoid, there still remains the outstanding fact that a country small, poor, and shamelessly robbed of an inheritance which belonged to education, kept steadily in view and pursued with unslackened rein its aim for intellectual culture and advancement. For more than 300 years in a practically continuous record, there is scarcely a burgh or important town in which provision was not made for the teaching of Latin and Greek to all, rich and poor alike, who were able to turn them to profitable use. We are warranted in saying that no other country has such a record.

With regard to the character and pitch of the instruction and the books read, we have evidence in Melville's *Diary*[3] where the course followed in Logie, Montrose is sketched, and in a document in the Glasgow Archives which gives the details of a five years' course. The Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, Virgil,

[1] *Burgh Records of Crail, Haddington, Kirkcudbright* and others.
[2] *Kirk Session Records of Anstruther.*
[3] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 13, 14, 17; 1829.

Ovid, Horace, Livy, Sallust, Terence, and Cicero are mentioned as the books in use. It is reasonable to infer that if these books were read, they were fairly level with the pupils' attainments.

We may note here that from very early times the master took with him through the whole curriculum the pupils with whom he started, until the Rector's class was reached. This practice, perhaps confined to Scotland, was adhered to in some schools—notably in Edinburgh Academy and High School, and in the High School of Glasgow till the latter half of the 19th century, with the result that, according as a master was popular or the reverse, his class was large or small, and pupils were promoted from class to class irrespective of attainments.

Many books used in earlier times had by this time been supplanted by others. The Grammar by Vaus seems not to have been used after the Reformation. An improved edition of Despauter still survived, but was in its turn displaced by a series of grammars by Simson, Duncan, and Home of Edinburgh High School. Home's Grammar was the first which parliament appointed to be taught exclusively in all schools. It was again superseded by that of Wedderburne of Aberdeen, which held the field till Ruddiman's—the first Latin Grammar in a purely English dress—took its place.

In the middle ages music occupied a much higher place as a branch of education than it does now. The Reformers in their strong opposition to anything savouring of luxury, taste, or refinement, and as a protest against what was so conspicuous in the Roman Catholic service, carried their disregard of it even into school life. Sang schools which till now had received great attention declined so much that an Act of Parliament was passed for their revival[1]. This had not the desired effect. Thirty years later James VI endowed music schools in Musselburgh[2] and Elgin[3]. His Consort Anne did the same for Dunfermline. But these royal efforts, seconded though they were by parliament, were not followed by a general revival. The music school of Glasgow was described as "altogether decayed." In spite of

[1] Act of Parliament, 1579, c. 58, III, 174.
[2] *Report on Burgh Schools*, II, 130.
[3] *Report on Endowed Schools*, II, 332.

greatly enlarged emoluments in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dundee, and other towns, this branch was not restored to its former prominence during the period with which we are now dealing.

The use of music at lykewakes and funerals led to abuses which called for interference by the authorities. The doctor of music was forbidden to sing at lykewakes on pain of dismissal from office. Old customs die hard, and on the gradual return of the same abuses the Act of Council forbidding singing at lykewakes was ratified. The abuses were probably akin to the riotous behaviour which accompanies Irish wakes.

From very early times instruction in elementary subjects by private teachers was in stepmotherly fashion permitted, but after the Reformation Town Councils saw the necessity of sound acquaintance with English and writing as a preliminary to entrance into the grammar school. Grants were accordingly made to elementary schools which, from the failure of Knox's scheme, were simply adventure schools. For starting these the authority of the magistrates was required[1]. In the smaller grammar schools there was often a room set apart for these elementary subjects, but in the larger grammar schools, Glasgow and Aberdeen, English was not taught as a separate branch till early in the 19th century, and in Edinburgh not till the latter half of the same century[2]. In some cases separate buildings were erected for the English department, in others the elementary branches were taught in the sang school. In 1583 reading, writing, English, and music were taught in the sang school of Ayr[3]. In Dunbar in 1679 the English and grammar schools were separate, each under its own master[4].

The intercourse between Scotland and France in the middle ages secured for the French language an early introduction into the schools. It was allowed to be spoken in school and presumably was known before the Reformation. Teachers of French were appointed in Edinburgh in 1574 and in Aberdeen in 1635. In 1574 the Council of Edinburgh authorised a Frenchman to

[1] "It having pleased the Lord to vouchsafe to Alexander Anderson in Aberdeen learning—reading and writing, the Council in 1661 allow him to teach these branches." *Burgh Records of Aberdeen.*

[2] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, 34.

[3] *Burgh Records of Ayr.*

[4] *Burgh Records of Dunbar.*

commence a school in which to teach his own language, and asked him to give intimation of this by setting up a sign[1]. There is unfortunately no information about the extent and character of the instruction.

The kirk then as now laid great stress on the importance of the religious element in education. An Act of Parliament in 1567 declares that, if this is neglected, instruction shall be "tinsell baith to thair bodyis and saulis[2]." Burgh records abound in proofs of the universality of this attitude on the part of the kirk. The lesser catechism for the younger and the shorter catechism for the older pupils were constantly in evidence. Saturday was to a large extent occupied in hearing the repetition of these and other memory tasks. Sunday was no day of rest for pupil or teacher. Attendance at church was no merely formal function. In the session records of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Peebles, Elgin, and elsewhere, we find that the masters of the grammar schools were held bound to obtain from their pupils notes of the sermons they had heard, and hear them repeat the shorter catechism. Many men of sound judgment and enlightened views on education and the formation of character think that this severe inculcation of Calvinistic logic has contributed largely in giving to Scotsmen the stamina and backbone which have carried them to success in so many fields.

We get a tolerably clear idea of the importance attached to a knowledge of the Catechism from a custom which was observed in Aberdeen[3], Leith, and probably elsewhere. Two grammar-school pupils were appointed to take up a position in the front of the pulpit in the interval between the sermons. For the benefit of "common ignorant people and servants," the one asked and the other answered in a loud voice, questions from the shorter Catechism, that all might hear and learn accurately both question and answer[4].

[1] Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, I, 95.

[2] Act of Parliament, 1567, c. 11, III, 24.

[3] *Session Records of Aberdeen.*

[4] One cannot but admire these zealous endeavours to secure universal acquaintance with a wonderfully logical document, but may hesitate about ascribing to it the saving efficacy claimed for it by a university student who, in the 19th century, gave as its etymology "derived from κατὰ down, and χάσμα a gap, a set of questions arranged to keep people from stumbling into the bottomless pit—in short, a Catechism."

In the latter half of the 17th century considerable attention was paid to the formation of libraries in connection with the more important grammar schools such as Edinbugh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Montrose. Boys leaving school were required to make contributions for the purchase of books. In some cases fines imposed for law-breaking were employed for this purpose, and in others contributions were made from the common good. Edinburgh Grammar School 300 years ago had a collection of nearly 600 volumes, which subsequent additions have raised to 7000. Dollar has a library of over 5000 volumes.

With respect to *emoluments* the rapacity of the Barons at the Reformation in taking the lion's share of the property of the Old Church and the good fortune of the Reformers in securing a part of it, while education got a very small portion, have already been referred to. Parliament seeing the impecunious position of the teacher, passed an act in 1567[1] ordaining patrons to make over to poor students certain church funds as altarages, chaplainries, and prebends. This was done in very few cases, and the act was practically fruitless. Queen Mary in 1567[2], James VI in 1572, his Consort in 1610, and Charles I in 1630 all showed their interest in schools by establishing pensions for teachers, some of which continue to the present day. The Barons did not follow the royal example. But even when endowments did reach the destination for which they were intended, their value was much reduced by dilapidations and mismanagement, buildings being in so many cases ruinous that an Act of Parliament was passed[3] to remedy the evil.

Trustees in those days seem to have used great freedom in the interpretation of their duties; for another act was passed in 1633[4] and ratified sixty-three years afterwards[5] forbidding them to do as they pleased with mortifications of which they were trustees. Instances of this absorption or alienation of funds assigned to education occurred in Kirkwall, Irvine, Paisley, and in many other places. All educational foundations were pro-

[1] Act of Parliament, 1567, c. 13, III, 25.
[2] *Report on Endowed Schools*, II, 425.
[3] Act of Parliament, 1594, c. 98, IV, 94.
[4] *Ibid.* 1633, c. 6, V, 22.
[5] *Ibid.* 1696, c. 29, X, 64.

tected by parliament and received special exemption from taxation[1].

In treating of teachers' emoluments a general view is all that can be attempted. It must be borne in mind that the country was poor, money scarce, and the amount secured for education from church lands so small as to be scarcely worth consideration. Another source—endowments made by private persons—is also of comparatively little importance. Here and there a successful merchant or a benevolent lady mortified small amounts for the districts in which they were interested. Very important support was furnished by the Town Councils from the common property of the burgh, which was as various in amount as in source and character—lands, fishings, feu duties, mills, markets, use of bells and mortcloth at funerals, fines for blood and battery, &c. When, as sometimes happened, these sources fell short of what was required, stentmasters were appointed who might be liberal or niggardly according to circumstances[2]. In 1612 a number of the inhabitants of Inverury rated themselves for providing "sillar and victual" for the teacher, the common good being exhausted[3].

The least variable and most important source of the teacher's emoluments was the amount received in fees, which were rigidly exacted, usually in advance, from all who were able to pay. Failure to pay was followed by expulsion, and those parents who fell into arrears were liable to have their goods poinded. The Council regulated the scale of fees; landward pupils paid more than burgesses, the poor paid less than the full amount, and the very poor were educated *gratis*.

From three other sources contributions were made towards the teacher's salary, bent silver already referred to, Candlemas offerings and cock-money. On February 2 every pupil was expected to present to the teacher an offering in money depending in amount on the means and social position of the parents, and

[1] Act of Parliament, 1587, c. 8, III, 433.

[2] Stentmaster was the person appointed to fix the amount of any duty payable.

[3] The items of this contribution are instructive as showing the zeal for education and the different circumstances, but on the whole the poverty of the people. Payments in money range from 26*s*. 8*d*. to 4*s*.; some contribute a peck of meal, others a firlot, others two firlots, others a boll, and one provides a free house. *Burgh Records of Inverury*.

a holiday was granted. In country districts the practice was kept up till the middle of the 19th century. There are few school customs so surprising as making cock-fights a source of emolument for the teacher. The fights took place in the school-room, none but scholars and gentlemen and persons of note being present. The scholars who did not supply cocks paid money contributions by way of compensation. The cocks that would not fight, and those killed in the fight, became the perquisite of the teacher. It is very remarkable that a practice so debasing and now punishable was, up to the end of the 18th century, not only permitted but encouraged by school authorities and persons of unquestionable respectability and position.

The stipends of teachers, at no time large, were, early in the 17th century, much reduced below a living wage through bad seasons and consequent dearth of provisions and multitude of schools. The humble appeals for augmentation bring out in painful contrast the dignity of the master in former times and his sordid surroundings during the subsequent century[1]. The master was usually supplied with a house or a sum of money in payment of rent. We have in the burgh records of Peebles a description of such a house, simple but probably sufficient. Fuel also was supplied in some cases by the parents sending periodically a "kairtfull of turfes," or by the Council sending a specified quantity of peats and coal[2]. Contributions of clothes were sometimes added as a supplement of stipend—a new hat, a piece of linen, a web of cloth, a piece of tanned hide, a "stand of clayths [a suit of clothes][3]."

Towards the middle and end of the 17th century contributions by benevolent persons in the shape of gifts and bequests were made for payment of fees and partial maintenance at burgh schools of children of poor honest men, and for increase of the

[1] The master of Aberdeen Grammar School in 1620 beseeches the Council to increase his salary, saying that "quhairas thair wisdomes exactis a dewtie of him on the ane pairt, so it will not offend thame on the uther pairt that he be particular in regrating [improving] his estate, the treuth quhairoff is, he has not ane stipend quhilk may encourage ane honest man to walk in sic a toillsum callin with chearfulnes...and he sees no correspondense betwist his extraordinar paynes and thi ordinar reward." Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 481.

[2] *Burgh Records of Peebles.*

[3] *Burgh Records of Paisley and Ayr.*

emoluments of teachers. These, however, were not large or numerous enough to make the teacher's position enviable from either a pecuniary or social point of view.

But much as the social position of the master had suffered, a still lower depth was reached by the under teachers. Customs change, and the feelings with which one regards them undergo corresponding alterations, but it is difficult to believe that maintenance of self-respect, and of wholesome influence over pupils was consistent with the teacher's going from house to house for his "meit of all the bairns day about," as we learn from the records of important burghs was the plight of the grammar school doctor for more than a hundred years[1]. A glimmer of the sordid indignity of the arrangement seems to have crossed the imagination of the Provost and Council of Stirling who, "for the better flourishing of the grammar school, modify [substitute] for the board and entertainment in meat of the Latin doctor a quarterly payment of 6/- besides the scholage."

It is difficult to understand why under these conditions there should have been a "multitude of schools" which was the complaint of an Aberdeen Rector. A more natural result would have been the disappearance of education from the land.

[1] *Burgh Records of Haddington, Kirkcaldy, Stirling, Peebles, Ayr and Sanquhar.*

CHAPTER VII

SECOND PERIOD (1560 TO 1696). ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

On the abolition of papal jurisdiction and ratification of Protestant doctrine in 1560, commission was given by an order of the Privy Council to prominent reformers, "to draw in a volume the policy and discipline of the Kirk as well as they had done the doctrine."

The task of framing the Book of Discipline was a most difficult one, and potentially most important for the well-being of Scotland. The Estates had been practically unanimous in settling the Confession of Faith. This order by the Privy Council had immeasurably wider scope than the settlement of a creed, covering as it did the internal policy of the Church, its relation to the State, its attitude towards education, and the inculcation of such procedure in domestic matters as should have for its aim security that children would grow up useful citizens, and occupy positions in society suited to their varying ability. All the Commissioners were able men of large experience both at home and abroad, the greatest of whom was John Knox. The duty was undertaken with great heartiness, and discharged with such statesmanlike foresight and admirable breadth of view, as should have earned for it the approval of all whose judgment was free from the disturbing influence of church feeling on the one side, and grasping selfishness on the other. The Book of Discipline unfortunately had to pass through the ordeal of both. Those who clung to the ancient church could not be expected to approve, while the nobles and gentry, the majority of whom had adopted the new faith, and into whose hands a large portion of

church property had somehow passed, selfishly refused to hand back to the ministers of the reformed church the property which unquestionably belonged to the church whose place they had taken. The measure was accordingly approved or disliked according as religious zeal or personal considerations exercised the greater influence. That the conception and aim of its authors were excellent, and that its fuller adoption would have been entirely beneficial cannot be doubted. That it fell far short of being realised was a national misfortune. That the nobility and gentry, having the power, appropriated funds that were the inheritance of the poor, of education, and the Kirk is intelligible, but merits the strongest condemnation. Their objection to the encroachment on personal liberty proposed in the compulsory clause dealing with the education of rich and poor alike is to some extent excusable, but still much to be regretted, destroying as it did a scheme of national education—a school in every parish, and a college or higher school in every notable town—the grandest known to history.

Though the First Book of Discipline was never carried out, its proposals deserve to be noticed.

The Commissioners in speaking of the "Erection of Universities" probably meant not that they were to be created anew, but to be established under new regulations, and rescued from the moribund condition to which they had been reduced at the time of the Reformation. The establishment of another in Edinburgh was not thought of. The medieval notion of a university was departed from. Professors[1] for separate subjects were to be appointed and adequate salaries provided for them. These professors were to be officers of the colleges, not of the university. Each Faculty was to have a separate organisation, and the combination of the several Faculties constituted the university. The title 'Chancellor,' which usually belonged to

[1] Regents is the word used in the Book of Discipline, and came ultimately to mean Professors. In medieval times anyone who had graduated a Master might be a Regent. Originally a Regent conducted a class through all subjects up to graduation. This continued to be the practice in Aberdeen till the 19th century though the name had given place to Professor. The two who were the last appointed to chairs by the title of Regents were Clerk Maxwell in Marischal College (1856), and Geddes in King's College (1855).

the Bishops of the three dioceses, was abolished, and in its place came that of 'Superintendent,' to whom as head of the institution certain duties administrative and academic were assigned. The Rector was no longer to be a regular teacher. His duties were regulation and supervision, visiting each college once a month, settling disputes between members of the university, and taking part in the trial of criminal actions against students. The Superintendent, Rector, their assessors, and the Bedell are the only university officers mentioned. Very few of the pre-Reformation Rectors of St Andrews could have been regular teachers. They were mostly prominent churchmen in different parts of the diocese, and must have been to a very large extent non-resident.

St Andrews as having already three colleges was to be a complete University, giving degrees in four Faculties, Philosophy, Medicine, Law and Divinity. In one college Philosophy and Medicine, in another Law, and in another Divinity, the curriculum in the first three Faculties extending over five, and in Divinity over six years. Each college was to have a Principal, whose duties were administration and supervision, but not teaching. Twenty-four bursars were to be appointed on consideration of character and scanty means of support. Glasgow and Aberdeen were to have two colleges, one giving degrees in Philosophy, the other in Law and Divinity. Regents were no longer to conduct a class through all subjects. Professors were to be appointed for each subject, except for Medicine, all branches of which were to be under the charge of one teacher. Neither Latin nor any elementary subject was to be taught in the university, and the lectures were all to be delivered in Latin.

The proposal of such a scheme as this may seem an extravagant counsel of perfection, deserving to be relegated to the limbo of other 'devout imaginations,' seeing that, after the experience and efforts of nearly three and a half centuries, we have not yet reached the goal which was Knox's noble aim. But defence of its consistency and even 'sweet reasonableness' is not impossible. The university scheme did not stand alone. It was the completion of a fully matured system of national education by which it was to be preceded, and which, if it had been carried out,

would have been a perfection of symmetry *totus, teres, atque rotundus*. It was intended that no student should enter the university who had not had two years of primary instruction, three or four years of Latin, and four years of Greek, Logic, and Rhetoric, and so be from sixteen to seventeen years of age. It is also to be borne in mind that Knox meant such a course only for those who showed 'aptness for learning,' and recommended that those who lacked this quality should betake themselves to some useful handicraft. Given national co-operation, open-handed liberality, and the legitimate use instead of the shameful perversion of funds available for education, Knox's ideal might have been realised.

Nothing is more hopeless than to estimate with approximate accuracy the purchasing power of money at the time of the Reformation, but the calculation of what would have sufficed for the maintenance of the three universities was between £2000 and £3000 sterling.

In 1563 the lamentable condition of the universities and especially of St Andrews was brought before the Queen and Lords of the Articles, with the result that a committee was appointed by parliament to enquire and report[1]. George Buchanan was a prominent member of it. His proposal was less ambitious than that of Knox. The most noteworthy change was that, as the scheme for higher schools in every notable town had failed, in one of the colleges languages alone should be taught. As his scheme was also still-born more detailed notice of it is perhaps unnecessary. Had either scheme been adopted the basis of university education would have been broader. University and school would each have done more effectively its own proper work. In both schemes, however, we have evidence of the intellectual awakening produced by the revival of learning.

To St Andrews, as to the other universities, the Reformation did serious injury. Their constitution and organisation were upset by ecclesiastical discord; their income was sadly reduced by the rapacity of the nobles who appropriated the lion's share of the patrimony of the Church. From a greatly diminished income they had to uphold the stipends of the parishes which

[1] Acts of Parliament, II, 544.

belonged to them. This was necessarily accompanied by a reduction of the salaries of the professors, for which certain grants by successive administrations made small but inadequate amends. The attendance of students was also injuriously affected. A year or two before the Reformation the matriculation of students was small "owing to tumults about religion." Mr Maitland Anderson, Librarian of St Andrews, has given, with highly probable approximation to accuracy, the average number of entrants or first matriculations in the 16th and 17th centuries as 44 and 60 respectively.

The diminution in the number of students immediately before and for some years after the Reformation does not warrant the inference that the authorities were negligent or incapable. It must be remembered that the student had not yet given up the habit of going wherever the reputation of famous teachers led him, and that foreign universities had not ceased to be attractive. To this as well as to attenuated endowments and religious discord the reduced attendance was probably due.

While the success of the other two universities was seriously marred by the Reformation, St Andrews was probably the greatest sufferer. The elements of discord and confusion were there more abundant and violent. It was the oldest, and the seat of the primacy. Monastic traditions were more deeply rooted there than in Glasgow and Aberdeen. The defenders of the old faith were more powerful, and also more violent and unscrupulous than elsewhere. Here alone were there three colleges, two warmly attached to the old order of things, the other resolute to overthrow it. In these circumstances the wonder is, not that academic progress was temporarily checked, but that is was not wholly obliterated.

"Our haill College," says James Melville, speaking of St Leonard's, "maisters and schollars, was sound and zealous in the guid cause; the other twa colleges nocht sa; for in the new college, howbeit Mr John Douglass, their Rector, was guid aneuch, the three other maisters and sum of the Regents war evill-myndit[1]."

[1] James Melville's *Diary*, p. 26; 1842.

The disorganisation resulting from this state of matters was left practically unremedied for nearly twenty years. The everlasting round of scholastic philosophy and the mode of teaching remained unchanged. Something different from this might naturally have been expected from St Leonard's, the principalship of which had been held for four years by such an adventurous spirit as George Buchanan. That he did not attempt to shake himself free from some of the trammels of medievalism is probably due to the fact that, unrivalled as his scholarship was, the character of his intellect demanded a wider and more inspiriting sphere than the lecture room; that his leanings were firstly political, and only secondarily academic.

The scheme for university reform proposed in the First Book of Discipline was, as we have seen, not carried out. The less ambitious one already referred to for which George Buchanan was mainly responsible shared the same fate. In 1578 parliament appointed a Commission to examine and report on the condition of all the universities[1]. This also had no result. In the following year the General Assembly presented a petition to the King and Council urging the necessity of reforming St Andrews. The Council appointed Commissioners for this purpose with full powers to remove unqualified persons, to change the form of study and the number of professors, to join or divide the Faculties, to annex each Faculty to such college as they thought most proper for it, &c. The Commissioners found that in all the colleges the original foundations had been departed from, that the foundations disagreed in many things with the true religion, and were far from "that perfection of teaching which this learned age craves," and they agreed upon a new form of instruction to be observed in the university[2]. This was laid before parliament and ratified in 1579.

To enumerate in detail all the changes proposed by this Commission would far exceed our limits. Some are, however, specially worthy of mention[3]. Professorships of Mathematics and Law were to be established in St Salvator's. The Principal

[1] Act of Parliament, III, 98.
[2] Act, vol. III, 179, and M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, I, 241, ed. 1824.
[3] Acts of Scottish Parliaments, vol. III, 178—182.

was to act as Professor of Medicine. Much the same arrangements were made for St Leonard's, but in it Mathematics and Law were not to be taught. Aristotelian Logic and Physics were no longer to have exclusive authority. Only the "most profitable and needful parts" were to be dealt with, and lectures on Platonic philosophy were to serve as a counterpoise to the Peripatetic—perhaps the earliest evidence of a tendency towards supplanting medieval by modern notions. St Mary's was to be entirely devoted to the study of theology with a staff of five masters. The first was to teach the Oriental languages; the second to teach the law of Moses and historical books of the Old Testament; the third to explain the prophetical books; the fourth to teach the New Testament in Greek and Syriac, and the fifth to teach the commonplaces, but the staff fell far short of this, and was often represented by two professors who undertook the whole of the instruction in theology. The first Professor of Hebrew was appointed in 1668. Every fourth year a visitation was to be made to see how far the changes were observed and effective.

It is impossible to question the general excellence of the programme thus proposed, and equally impossible to contend that it was more than very partially carried out. If James Melville's *Diary* is to be trusted, his uncle Andrew had a large and probably the principal share in drawing it up[1]. The thoroughness and comprehensive grasp of the reforms proposed not only bear the stamp of his character, but are to a large extent a reproduction of what he did successfully for Glasgow five years before. It was perhaps too drastic and in some respects impracticable, except under the action of men of Melville's own marvellous industry and untiring energy. The proposals in it to which this objection may be taken are probably due to his presupposing in others the courageous qualities he himself possessed. That Buchanan lent his aid is very probable, but his somewhat *laissez-faire* attitude towards academic reform during his occupancy of the principalship of St Leonard's from 1566 to 1570 makes his initiative in the reforms of 1579 at least doubtful. It is certain that he was the most distinguished scholar among the Commissioners, but scholarship rather than

[1] Melville's *Diary*, pp. 58, 64; 1829.

administration and organisation was the most marked feature in his character.

When the changes involved in the scheme were about to be made, it was on all sides agreed that Melville, then Principal of Glasgow, was eminently qualified for the principalship of St Mary's College. His character and experience marked him out as singularly fitted to bring order out of confusion. After completing his course at St Andrews he had sojourned in France and Switzerland, had seen a great part of the struggle between the Catholics and Huguenots, had gained the friendship of the reformer Beza, and, after breathing freely the atmosphere of the Presbyterianism of Geneva, had returned to Scotland full of strong and tempered enthusiasm. Though the reorganisation of St Mary's College was a subject in which he was especially interested, he was most unwilling to leave Glasgow University, which he had rescued from approximate extinction and raised to a position of great prosperity. The university authorities also strongly opposed his removal, but a letter from the King to the General Assembly intimating his wish that Melville should accept the appointment made compliance inevitable[1]. He was accordingly transferred to St Andrews in 1580, and was succeeded in Glasgow by Smeaton.

In 1580 when Episcopacy had its first innings under the Tulchan Bishops, and Archbishop Adamson was Chancellor, Melville was installed[2]. His nephew James was admitted as Professor of Oriental tongues. John Robertson was the only Regent not displaced under the new arrangements. Melville's marked success in Glasgow fully justified his appointment. His position, as might be expected, was a difficult one. He had to face the opposition always offered to reformers of old institutions, the anger of the removed professors and the claims of arrears of salaries said to be due. But another and greater difficulty had to be overcome. By his lectures, showing that parts of Aristotelian philosophy were inconsistent with both natural and revealed

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, 1, 160, ed. 1824.

[2] Tulchan was a calf's skin stuffed with straw used to induce a cow to give her milk freely. The term was used to describe the titular Bishops who in 1572 held office, but allowed most of the revenues under their charge to be absorbed by the nobles as lay patrons.

religion, he aroused the wrath of the other colleges[1]. Undeterred by clamour he in two years silenced his opponents by his earnestness, erudition, eloquence, and strength of character, and brought to his side many of his most bitter antagonists[2]. In his dealing with them he induced them to take up the careful study of Aristotle in the original, and by this means made them both philosophers and theologians. "But this," said his nephew, "was nocht done without mikle feghting and fasherie[3]."

From a review of the condition of Scotland during the latter half of the 16th and the whole of the 17th century it is not too much to say that no other country underwent an ordeal so prohibitive of university progress as that which fell to the lot of Scotland. The University and the Church were connected by the closest ties. Whatever affected the latter was immediately and keenly felt by the former. Throughout that century and a half, at intervals of twenty years or so, the alternate ebb and flow of stern and moderate Presbyterianism, of spurious and genuine Episcopacy had to be faced. Each change necessitated the appointment of a fresh Commission whose duty it was to adapt university conditions to the wishes of the Church for the time in the ascendant. In these circumstances confusion and destruction of discipline were inevitable, steady progress impossible. The enactments of the various Commissions were more or less disregarded. All the teachers might, and many did, do whatever seemed right in their own eyes. It would seem from a memorial of the visitation of 1588 that the condition of the university was far from satisfactory even eight years after Melville's occupancy of the principalship. The memorial opens with the statement "It is mast difficill in this confused tyme...to effectuat ony gude commoun werk, althogh men wer nevir sa weill willit; and speciallie quhair ye ar not certanly instructit, and hes na greit hope of thankes for your travell." This was the state of matters so far as the teachers are concerned. But the end of the report shows the students to be in no better case. The Regents are

[1] "Their breadwinner, their honor, their estimation, all was goan, giff Aristotle should be so owirharled in the hearing of their schollars." Melville's *Diary*, p. 123, ed. 1842.

[2] M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, I, 171, ed. 1824.

[3] Melville's *Diary*, p. 124, ed. 1842.

advised to "forbid thair (the students) querrelling...albeit it be not altogidder prohibite that thay *flyte* (i.e. wrangle or scold), yit forbid fechting or bearing of daggis (pistols) or swerdis."

How far this chaotic condition of matters can be charged against Melville it is difficult to determine. He has been accused of sacrificing to some extent his academic duties to the teaching of republicanism, and of discussing whether the election or succession of rulers was to be preferred, and of hinting doubts as to the divine right of kings. It is certain that he did not find within the narrow precincts of a university an arena wide enough for the exercise of his overmastering energy. Affairs of Church and State had a great charm for him. His keen interest in general as well as in ecclesiastical politics is well known. He was of too ardent a spirit to disregard questions involving important principles. The university was much to him but it was not all, and there is a limit to the exertions of even the most indefatigable administrator. It is therefore probable that the charge of laxity in the management of the university was not entirely without foundation.

Of his fearlessness in the presence of royalty his behaviour on at least one occasion leaves no doubt[1]. Of his beneficent influence on academic pursuits there can be but one opinion. Great and entirely wholesome as that influence was, it would have been more widespread and permanent in the years that followed, had it not been checked by the ecclesiastical and political turmoils of the 17th century, in which no room could be found for the steady pursuit of learning and literature. Burton claims for Melville a type of character like that of Hildebrand or Thomas à Becket.

The scheme formulated in 1579 had evidently proved in some respects unworkable, for the ratification of that scheme was repealed and the original foundations were restored by parliament in St Andrews in 1621, and two years previously in Aberdeen.

[1] In 1596, when the King attended divine service in the Town Church of St Andrews, the preacher [Melville] expressed some sentiments of which the King disapproved. He interrupted the preacher and ordered him to desist. Indignant at this interference, Melville rose and sharply rebuked the King, and censured the Commissioners of the Church for sitting in silence. Principal Shairp in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1882, p. 44.

Till the royal visitation in 1718 one fruitless Commission followed another and practically nothing of importance was done. In spite of these retarding influences St Andrews seems, under the vigorous administration of Melville, to have maintained so much of its former reputation as to be still attractive to students from the Continent, the annual average of whom between 1588 and 1610 was seven or eight. Neither was royal favour entirely withdrawn. A university or common library was founded by King James in 1612. This was gradually enlarged by donations of books from various quarters, and subsequently the separate libraries of the three colleges were combined with it.

On January 15, 1691, seven new Regents were admitted on the nomination of William and Mary—four in St Salvator's College, and three in St Leonard's. This would seem to indicate that a corresponding number had been evicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.

Between the time of Melville and the end of the 17th century there are no trustworthy sources of information, and such as exist have little educational significance. And yet within the century in which such men as Knox, Buchanan, Spottiswoode, Henderson, Rutherford, Montrose, and others, fretted their little hour on the St Andrews stage, in the battledore and shuttlecock vicissitudes of Presbyterian and Episcopal supremacy, there must have been many incidents worthy of being recorded, but of which comparatively few traces remain. It is recorded that a Professor of Mathematics was appointed in 1668. In 1690 a Commission was appointed and empowered to remove all officials who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. Of the extent to which this power was exercised there is no authentic record.

CHAPTER VIII

SECOND PERIOD (1560 TO 1696). GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

In dealing with the condition of Glasgow University up to 1560 we saw that it was very unsatisfactory, and that the Reformation troubles had added to its further decay, as shown in Queen Mary's letter in 1563 (p. 57). On being desired to do something for its improvement she founded bursaries for five poor scholars, and gave for their support some property which belonged to the Preaching Friars. This was the first foundation of bursaries[1]. Some years later she granted a charter assigning all the monastic property in Glasgow to the town council. This gift was to be handed down to posterity as "Queen Mary's Foundation for the Ministers and Hospitals of Glasgow." Though intended by Mary for the ministers and poor, the town council in 1572 on the advice of James VI made a present of it to the college of Glasgow. The deed conveying it bore the title of the "New Foundation of the College or Pedagogy of Glasgow by the Town[2]," and was shortly afterwards ratified by parliament. At this time the existing Pedagogy was said to be a ruin and its studies extinct. This foundation did not in any way affect the constitution of the university. It was simply an attempt to strengthen or revive the Faculty of Arts. The town council seem to have contented themselves with the right of presentation of poor students for bursaries in return for their gift.

When this gift came to be dealt with by the university authorities with the help of George Buchanan, its value had been enormously reduced by the fraudulent sale and alienation of lands and benefices, and also by a clause in the charter providing

[1] *Munimenta*, I, 68. [2] *Ibid.* I, 82.

that the chaplains, friars, and other Catholic officials should have the life-rent of their benefices. The property, secured against fraud and carefully administered, would have been sufficient to give to the scheme proposed under the "New Foundation by the Town" a favourable start, and sufficient maintenance for a more complete staff. It turned out that the annual revenue from the long list of monastic buildings and lands was only £300 Scots[1].

In view of such meagre provision it was arranged that the staff should consist of fifteen members—a Principal, two Regents, and twelve Bursars. Regents were graduates who were anxious to become teachers in the university, and were pledged to continue in office for six years. Each Regent, as already mentioned, took his pupils with him through all the subjects of the curriculum, which has been described as a "dreary single-manned Aristotelian quadriennium." Being generally young men they were satisfied with the slender emoluments of their office. In the absence of funds required to secure teachers of eminence the university had to be content with such raw materials for much of the staff, and must have had its efficiency impaired. There was usually no scarcity of candidates for the office, and competition for it was sometimes exceedingly keen. We find that in 1690 no fewer than nine candidates presented themselves for a vacancy, all of whom acquitted themselves so well and so equally, that the examiners could not decide which was best, and settled the election by lot. The other eight received each five pounds "because they had behaved very well and had been at charge in attending the trials[2]."

For sixteen years the university had been preserved from extinction mainly by the efforts of Principal Davidson. As the New Foundation furnished maintenance for only the two Regents and scarcely anything for the Bursars, "the students gradually dispersed, and on the death of Davidson the classes were completely broken up[3]."

Brighter days were not far off. In 1574 Andrew Melville returned from the Continent where he had been a student in

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, I, p. 70.
[2] *Munimenta*, II, 351.
[3] M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, I, p. 71.

Paris, a regent in Poitiers, and a professor in Geneva, stimulated by the renaissance atmosphere, full of enthusiasm and new ideas, in the vigour of youth, and of overmastering energy. His reputation preceded him, and his needed help was eagerly contended for by both St Andrews and Glasgow. The sad plight of the latter had the stronger claim, and he accepted the principalship. His duties as Principal under the "New Foundation" above mentioned were merely supervision and lecturing on Sunday. This was not enough for him. He saw what a heavy task he had undertaken, and resolved to reform the course of study and train teachers fit to maintain it at a high level.

To cover even superficially such a vast range of subjects his knowledge must have been encyclopaedic, and his industry untiring. Greek is said to have been taught in Montrose School in 1553 but Glasgow seems to be the first Scottish University in which it was taught. His teaching combined appreciative and advanced humanism and a more or less vigorous revolt against scholastic philosophy. The selected portions of Aristotle were read in the original text. His work as described by his nephew is characterised by a freshness, vigour, and modern spirit entirely new in Scotland.

His four years' curriculum in Arts differs little from the 19th century curriculum of Scottish universities.

1st year. Humanity (i.e. Greek and Latin) and the dialectic of Ramus.

2nd year. Mathematics, Cosmography and Astronomy.

3rd year. Moral and Political sciences.

4th year. Natural Philosophy and History[1].

The comparison in respect of breadth is in Melville's favour. Cosmography and astronomy are not yet included in all the Arts courses, and history has but lately, and not universally, found a place.

The theological course covered two years, and included Hebrew, the Chaldaic and Syriac dialects, several books of the Old Testament, the Epistle to the Galatians, and all the commonplaces of theology.

The above programme of studies is a fairly correct summary

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, 1, 82.

of the work described in Melville's *Diary*, and was probably that with which Andrew Melville commenced on his appointment to the principalship, but the exact description of the work assigned to the three Regents on the establishment of the *nova erectio* was the following:—one was to teach Greek and rhetoric; another, dialectics, morals, and politics, with the elements of arithmetic and geometry, and a third, physiology, geography, chronology and astrology[1].

This did not represent the complete Arts curriculum of medieval times which as already mentioned consisted of two portions, the Trivium and Quadrivium—the three Arts (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric), and the four sciences (music, arithmetic, geometry and astrology).

The Regent, now for the first time in Scotland, was confined to a prescribed department. The professorial system was introduced and continued till 1642. Regenting was reintroduced and continued till 1727, when a return was made to the professoriate which continues till now. In 1688 common tables were discontinued, but a few students lived in college for some time thereafter. In the same year the Snell exhibitions to Oxford were founded, their original values being £70 for 10 years to each of 10 students. Their present value is £80 for five years.

Under the enthusiastic management of Melville the fame of Glasgow spread throughout the kingdom. Outside the lecture room he found a field for the profitable exercise of his energy. By his efforts the valuable living of Govan with all its revenues, lands, &c. was secured for the university, and amply compensated for the benefices and emoluments that had been swept away at the Reformation. The *nova erectio* had for its object, as described in the deed, the collecting of the remains of the university (*colligere reliquias Academiae*). This expression is apparently inconsistent with James Melville's account of his uncle's early success, viz. that "the name of the college within two years was noble throughout all the land and in other countries also[2]" and that the students were so numerous that the rooms were not able to receive them. As Andrew Melville became Principal in 1574,

[1] *University of Glasgow, Old and New*, p. 34.
[2] James Melville's *Diary*, p. 49, ed. 1842.

and the *nova erectio* did not take effect till 1577, the collecting of the remains had been already accomplished. Whatever the explanation, the success is unquestionable. Given that James Melville had an adequate acquaintance with the other universities of Europe, and allowance being made for a not unnatural exaggeration of his uncle's merits, he had still some justification for saying that at the end of his six years' principalship "there was no place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for good letters during these years for a plentiful and good cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences[1]."

The *nova erectio*, which was mainly the result of a conference between Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and Melville, sanctioned all the changes already made, and provided for the maintenance of twelve persons who should reside in the college—the Principal, three Regents, an Economus (Steward), four poor students and three servants. Among the other duties falling to the Principal was the maintenance of scholastic discipline between the students and the Regents. For this purpose he received "the belt of correction." We have in this provision for corporal punishment an indication of the boyish age of the students[2]. Melville assigned the disagreeable duty to the Regents. Such harmless and healthy amusements as playing at ball and bathing were regarded as criminal, and were punished by whipping and expulsion[3].

Bursars were to be maintained for three years and a half, which was the time required for taking the degree of Master of Arts. The Rector, Dean of Faculty, and the minister of Glasgow were to visit the college four times a year, examine the accounts, and see that the intentions of the foundation were properly carried out. As already mentioned Melville was transferred to St Andrews in 1580, but the impulse he had given was long afterwards conspicuous in the successful efforts of his successors. In 1581 the Archbishop of Glasgow gave to the

[1] James Melville's *Diary*, p. 50, ed. 1842.

[2] M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, I, 82. In English universities as late as the 17th century corporal punishment was inflicted on gentlemen who wore swords and were about to commence the study of law in an Inn of Court in London. Huber and Newman, *The English Universities*, vol. I, 206.

[3] *Munimenta*, II, 48 and 50.

college the customs of the city which provided funds for a fourth Regent, and we find a new division of the Chairs in Arts. The distribution of subjects among the four Regents was the following. The highest Regent, Professor of Physiology (Doctrine of Nature); the second, Professor of Moral Philosophy; the third, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric; and the fourth, Professor of Greek[1]. It is noteworthy that mathematics is not represented in this programme.

The number of graduates continued to increase. In 1595 greater value began to be attached to the title of Master of Arts, and those who graduated were arranged in the order of merit. As a stimulus to the growing habit the graduation ceremonial was made an important function, at which guests were present and entertainments of various kinds were provided. There was on all hands evidence of healthy interest and vitality. This state of matters remained practically unchanged for a considerable time. In 1621 we find the Chancellor and other officials awarding to the four Regents for their faithful work 1000 marks to be divided among them in certain proportions over and above their fixed emoluments. There was no Chair of Humanity till 1637[2]. In the same year a Professor of Medicine was appointed.

In 1640 a commission of visitation ordained the following course of study.

1st year. Besides Greek a compend of Logic.

2nd year. Besides Logic, *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, to be taught with the elements of Arithmetic.

3rd year. Besides Logic the 5th and 6th books of Aristotle's Ethics. A compend of Metaphysic, more advanced Arithmetic and Geometry.

4th year. Besides Physics, Aristotle *de anima*[3].

A comparison of this course with that for 1581 shows a very considerable widening of the field of study during sixty years.

[1] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. XXI, p. 26, ed. 1799.

[2] David Munro is referred to as "Maister of the Humanitie" in a document of 1637. *Munimenta*, III, 379—380.

[3] *Glasgow University Old and New*, preface, p. xx.

In 1664 to Arithmetic and Geometry, Geography, Astronomy, and Anatomy were added. The session lasted for ten months, from October to July. October was mainly devoted to examinations and revisal of previous years' studies. Saturdays were occupied partly with revisal of the week's work, and partly with public exercises in oratory and declamation.

In 1641 Charles I gave to the college the temporality of the Bishopric of Galloway, and the career of the university was up to the time of the Restoration on the whole prosperous. The ever-recurring alternations of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism[1], and the disturbing elements of the civil war, by which a great part of the 17th century is characterised, were doubtless unfavourable to university success, but many English students, the sons of dissenters, who were refused admission to Oxford and Cambridge, found their way to Scotland for education during the Commonwealth. Cromwell took an active interest in the prosperity of the Scottish universities, renewing all their immunities and privileges, and confirming former foundations and donations.

The re-establishment of Episcopacy at the Restoration had a most injurious influence on the college by depriving it of such a large part of its revenues that its staff of eight professors was reduced to five[2]. In 1660 the college was deep in debt[3], and at a visitation ordered by parliament in 1664 it was found that about £4000 Scots yearly was needed to keep it from decay and ruin. In 1672 the King with consent of parliament ratified and confirmed the gift made to the university of the sub-deanery of Glasgow with the annexed kirks of Calder and Monkland. At this time all the students for whom there was room had chambers in the college and dined at the common table. The Regents in turn visited the chambers before six in the morning, and in the

[1] We may give as an example of these obstacles to progress, the sequestration in 1660 of the salaries of Principal Gillespie and three ministers for refusing to sign the "band for keeping the peace and disowning the Remonstrance." *Munimenta*, II, 328.

[2] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, XXI, p. 26, ed. 1799.

[3] In 1655 bursars of philosophy were ordained to give each a silver spoon for the "plenishing of the house," and bursars of theology to pay at entry ten marks for "augmenting the public library." In 1687 the Humanity Chair was suppressed, because the "college haill revenues are super expendit." *Munimenta*, II, 323, 325, 347.

evening before nine, to see that none of the students were "playing, talking, or doing worse in their chambers, or wandering about the court, or going from chamber to chamber[1]."

It seems tolerably clear that the visitations which followed the various ups and downs in ecclesiastical predominance between 1560 and 1696 were only to a limited extent effective in practical results. Many of the recommendations were but partially and temporarily adopted, and not a few were entirely disregarded. Regulations as to graduation were not strictly observed. In 1691 two men whose education had been wholly private wished to enter the ministry in the north of Ireland, into which none were admitted who were not graduates. As these men had passed their trials for the ministry, and had good testimonials to character, the Irish authorities requested the Faculty to confer on them the degree of Master of Arts. The request was granted, though the men professed no shred of university culture. Such serious departures from rule were however rare[2]. Discipline seems to have been administered with commendable strictness. We find that a student was expelled for absenting himself from the college for ten days. On another occasion the magistrand (4th year) class wishing to distinguish themselves from the other classes took to wearing knots of ribbons on their hats. When the Principal and Regent forbade this, it was found that the students had formed a combination to stand by each other and resist authority. The result was a riot in which a number of students in the other classes took part, some of whom were imprisoned in the Tolbooth. When brought to trial all humbly confessed their fault and promised good behaviour. The magistrand class were compelled, each with his own hand, to remove the knot of ribbons from his hat and cancel his signature to the combination that had been formed. Further punishment was in the meantime withheld, but warning was given that any similar conduct would be followed by expulsion[3].

In 1693 it was found necessary to check unreasonable expense at laureation, and it was arranged that those intending to take their degrees should meet and choose nine of their number to be

[1] *Glasgow University Old and New*, preface, p. xxi.
[2] *Munimenta*, II, 362.
[3] *Munimenta*, II, 365.

stentmasters, who should impose a stent proportioned to the ascertained ability and circumstances of each student. The amount contributed went to defray the charges of public laureation, and what was left over was to be given to the Regent as a honorarium[1].

After a visitation of all the universities in 1695 on the question of a printed course of Philosophy for general use, the Commissioners answer that no course already printed is suitable. No complete course is written by any one man, and the different parts are written by popish professors who cunningly insinuate heretical tenets. In some the Logicks and Metaphysicks are barren, the Ethicks erroneous and the Physicks too prolix. Moor is grossly Arminian, Le Clerc is merely sceptical, and Descartes, Rohault and others of his gang are rejected for specified reasons. They therefore recommend that "the method hitherto keeped may be continued till our printed course be ready[2]."

The condition of the college during the quarter of a century previous to the Revolution was in all important respects unchanged. The discontinued professorships were then replaced, and in the following century fresh additions were made. And now a career of prosperity commenced. Thanks to Carstares who, from his influence with William III, was called 'Cardinal Carstares,' an annual grant of £1200 was in 1693 obtained from the King for equal division among the four Scottish Universities. We have satisfactory evidence of progress in the fact that at the commencement of the 17th century the number of students was about 100, and a century later 400[3].

How far and on what lines this success was continued will be dealt with in our third period.

[1] *Munimenta*, II, 370. [2] *Munimenta*, II, 530—1.
[3] *Glasgow University Old and New*, preface, p. xxiii.

CHAPTER IX

SECOND PERIOD (1560 TO 1696). ABERDEEN: KING'S COLLEGE

WE have seen that the religious turmoil which was violently agitating the south of Scotland since 1546 left Aberdeen untouched till the Reformation in 1560. The successors of Rector Galloway did nothing worthy of record, and there is no evidence of the extent to which effect was given to the recommendations based upon his visitation in 1549. In 1561 Principal Anderson and John Leslie were summoned to appear before the General Assembly to answer charges made against them in the management of the university. Between them and their accusers—Knox and others—there were "very sharp and hard disputations" especially about transubstantiation which ended, as might be expected, in neither party convincing the other, the only result being that the accused were ordered to remain in Edinburgh and were forbidden to preach. No further action was taken till 1569 when the condition of King's College was again enquired into by a Commission of which the Regent Moray was a member. On Anderson and four of his staff refusing to sign the Confession of Faith they were deposed.

The charges brought against Anderson of embezzlement of college revenues were probably groundless, and were at any rate never brought to proof during the eight years after he was deposed. One charge, that of the destruction of university charters, was certainly false, for the charters are still in existence.

The eight years ending with Anderson's deposition were disastrous to the university. At Queen Mary's visit in 1562 it is

described as "one College with fifteen or sixteen scholars[1]." Nor does it seem to have become more prosperous under Arbuthnot, a man of many excellent qualities, who was made Principal in 1569, and held that office till 1583. The transference, twice proposed to him, from academic to ministerial work in Aberdeen and St Andrews, seems to suggest that he lacked the qualities which the head of a university should possess, but he had great difficulties to contend with. There was in Aberdeen a strong party violently opposed to Protestantism, and the new order of things. He felt that this and the impoverished condition of the university made his retention of office imperative in the general interest. It is pathetic to see a man so true to himself, so universally beloved, and with qualities which in less troublous times would have earned success, compelled to face difficulties with which only a man of coarser fibre could grapple. He is one of the comparatively small number of public men of whom, at that contentious period, allies and opponents alike speak with respect and affection, "a man of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godliness and sweetness of nature." Archbishop Spottiswoode, an ecclesiastical antagonist, speaking of him says "He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in such account for his moderation with the chief men of these parts, that without his advice they could almost do nothing." It is scarcely possible that a man who could be thus spoken of, and who was besides the fellow-worker of such an educationist as Andrew Melville in his schemes for university reform, could have been an inefficient Principal. However this may be, it is not far from the truth to say that the condition of King's College was in 1583 much the same as at the time of Galloway's visitation, remaining practically unchanged for upwards of thirty years.

We have seen that the first efforts of the Reformers were in the direction of changes in the university system. A sketch of the proposals in the Books of Discipline has been given (supra pp. 106—7). By these proposals, largely fruitless though they were, the character of the universities was considerably altered.

[1] By *scholars* it is almost certain that we must understand *students* to be meant. It does not appear that in Aberdeen *scholars* meant *bursars*.

They lost to a large extent their international stamp in their efforts to adapt themselves to modern local conditions. Their aim, hitherto mainly ecclesiastical, became largely educational, but not to the exclusion of the former. Interchange of students between the Scottish and foreign universities was common during the 16th and 17th centuries. One of the most noteworthy instances is that of Thomas Dempster (1579–1625) who was a native of Auchterless, and whose career, as given in his autobiography and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is a strangely mixed one. He was a man of great ability, vanity, and, if the Biographical Dictionary is to be trusted, of as great a disregard of truth. At three years of age he mastered the whole of the Alphabet in one hour. He entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in his tenth year, and was connected, either as student or Professor, with at least ten continental universities—Paris, Rome, Douay, Toulouse, Nîmes, Lisieux, de Plessy, Beauvais, Pisa and Bologna. His first Chair was that of the Humanities in Paris when he was less than seventeen years of age. He was Professor of Oratory at Nîmes, and of Civil Law in Pisa. He was a man of very violent temper and his whole career is punctuated by a succession of serious quarrels. The Dictionary says "he hardly ever allowed a day to pass without fighting with either sword or fists," adding however that in treating of his career "it is impossible to distinguish between fact and fiction." He was a man of exceptional industry, and was knighted by Pope Urban VIII. He published among other learned works the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum* which is the best known, but is "chiefly remarkable for its extraordinary dishonesty[1]." Even in view of his undoubted vanity and mendacity, he stands out as a man of by no means ordinary type.

The interchange between Scottish and foreign universities fell off considerably for some time, but revived again from increased facilities in travelling, and continued till the beginning of the 19th century. Among the last was William Laurence

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.* The description of Dempster given by the *D.N.B.* is largely taken from Janus Nicius Erythraeus as quoted in Irving's edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. iv.

Brown, son of the English Church minister in Utrecht, who became Professor of Moral Philosophy, Church History, and the Law of Nature in that University. He was subsequently appointed to the Chair of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and in 1796 became its Principal, and held office till 1830.

Of educational reformers after Knox Andrew Melville is the most prominent. Returning from his studies in Paris in full sympathy with the opinions of Ramus who taught that Aristotle was not infallible, he was appointed in 1574 Principal of Glasgow University, which he found in a state of utter confusion and poorly equipped with teachers. With characteristic energy he drew up a scheme in which Greek was introduced, and wider study of the Latin classics and Mathematics formed a part. The result was so entirely satisfactory as to warrant the opinion in his nephew's *Diary* that "Scotland receavit never a greater benefit at the hands of God nor this man." In the following year we learn from the same *Diary*[1] that his uncle and Arbuthnot had a conference about the studies and management of Glasgow and Aberdeen. From this conference was produced the *Erectio Regia* for Glasgow (p. 120), and from a Commission appointed in 1579 a new scheme for St Andrews (p. 110).

The question of a *Nova Fundatio* for Aberdeen is one of great complexity and conflicting testimony. For its full discussion, which quite exceeds our limits, reference must be made to Mr P. J. Anderson's *Officers and Graduates of King's College*[2]. Mr Anderson says "it is not now possible to give a complete account of the origin of the Foundation, or to reconcile the contradictory statements made as to the extent to which its provisions were enforced." It may be safely assumed that his attempt at reconciliation is the best possible. Mr Rait also admits that it is almost hopeless to attempt a satisfactory explanation[3].

A very incomplete summary of what was done in connection with it may not be out of place.

Parliament passed an act in 1578 "anent the visitation of the Universities and Colleges." Commissioners were sent to

[1] Melville's *Diary*, p. 53, ed. 1842.
[2] *New Spalding Club*, p. 324.
[3] Rait's *Universities of Aberdeen*, pp. 108—117.

the three universities with full powers (p. 110). In the following year the St Andrews Commissioners sent in their proposals. There is no record that the Aberdeen Commissioners did so. In the parliament of 1581 mention is made of the "Reformation of the College of Aberdeen" as being ready for confirmation. Nothing more is known of the document thus designated. During the next three years, the attempts made to have the *Nova Fundatio* formally established were either opposed or evaded, and for another thirteen years nothing further was done. In 1593 Earl Marischal, despairing of seeing it introduced into King's College, founded the University which bears his name. In 1597 the *Nova Fundatio* was sanctioned subject to revision by certain Commissioners. What and whether any emendations were made during revision is not known. The original document is lost, but some copies of it are still in existence. Let us suppose that we have a copy of a duly ratified original document. It bears that the King is anxious to give to Aberdeen a constitution like that of St Andrews and Glasgow. It confirms previous grants and specifies new endowments. The number of members of the college, the mode of election, the duties and salary of the Principal are all detailed. The most important changes are that each Regent is to have only one department instead of conducting one class through the whole curriculum, and that the offices of Canonist, Civilist, and Mediciner are to be abolished. It contains a list of the Arts subjects, and specifies their distribution among the teaching staff. Aristotle is not excluded, but it is only a selection of his Organon, Ethics, and Politics that is included in the list.

There are other details but these may suffice.

In the relegation of Aristotle to a subordinate position, and the assignation of professorial duties to the Regents we see the hand of Melville. In the abolition of Law and Medicine we see, as events proved, a source of dissension and a line of cleavage of university authorities into two factors—on one side the supporters, on the other the opponents of the new foundation. Nor is this to be wondered at. It seems unaccountable that for over twenty years neither medicine nor civil law was taught in the university. It is beyond doubt that here, as in

St Andrews, the *Nova Fundatio* was to some extent observed. While there is conflicting evidence about the extent to which the regulations on 'regenting' were carried out, it is tolerably clear that on the whole the authorities did not take kindly to them. They were alternately adopted and abandoned at comparatively short intervals on personal, political, or ecclesiastical grounds, according as one party or another had greater influence on the vacillating moods of the reigning monarchs. Bishop Patrick Forbes in 1619 restored the old foundation. Nine years afterwards a professoriate was established, and in thirteen years a return was made to the old foundation. "If," says Rait, "the reason for instituting a professoriate in 1628 is doubtful, the cause of its abandonment in 1641 is a complete mystery."

It seems impossible to state with precision when and for how long the *Nova Fundatio* was fully or even nominally in force. Between 1592 and 1638 several Acts of Parliament were passed confirming the old foundation. In 1638, the Presbyterians being in power, an attempt was made to restore the new foundation. A commission was appointed with the Marquis of Huntly as president. The majority of the college officials including the Rector and Principal were in favour of the proposal; the Professors of Law and Medicine, whose occupations were in danger of being extinguished, were opposed to it. The commissioners had been ordered by Charles to confirm the old foundation and they did so[1].

Gordon in his *Scots affairs* says that the *Nova Fundatio* was in 1592 prepared by Principal Rait and presented to James VI, "and it went near to be ratified by Parliament, had it not been opposed by Secretary Elphinstone," and that the document fell into the hands of Bishop Patrick Forbes, who instead of setting it on foot as requested threw it into the fire. This may or may not be true. There is certainly no clear proof that the *Nova Fundatio* was ever sanctioned by Act of Parliament. It is true that the party, who were anxious that it should be held as ratified, offered to produce witnesses who had seen and read the document. It does not appear that witnesses were produced. There is no evidence that it was really placed in

[1] Rait's *Universities of Aberdeen*, p. 137.

the statute book. That it expressed the wishes of the Protestant Reformers is beyond question. It had received the approval of the General Assembly in 1583 and thence acquired such authority as caused it to be intermittently acted upon for nearly a hundred years.

In the early years of the 17th century there were few entrants, the number ranging from twelve to thirty-eight. Few of the officials were men of special note, but in 1618 we find the name of one who was not only a great benefactor of the university, but universally beloved and revered alike by allies and opponents, Bishop Patrick Forbes. Melville in his diary speaks of him as the "guid, godly, and kind Patrick Forbes." He was asked in 1619 by King James to examine into the condition of King's and Marischal Colleges. At Marischal College the gates were shut against him and the porter speaking from a window said that he was locked in and the Rector had taken away the key. The Rector was arrested, but he declined to "deluyer ony keyis or open ony yettis." A few days after application was made to Earl Marischal, but the refusal was repeated[1]. David Rait was then Principal of King's College. Its condition was far from satisfactory in respect of both teaching and finance. Rait had taught practically nothing, and had so mismanaged the revenues that there was a deficiency of three thousand pounds. Graduation fees had been "invertit to privat use," buildings were dilapidated and had become ruinous, the churches which were connected with the university had no ministers, and there was "lamentable hethenisme and sic lowsnes as is horrible to record." Instead of proceeding to a sentence against him the Commissioners gave him four years to repair the dilapidations and clear off the debt. Whether he kept his promise is not recorded, but it is probable that he to some extent satisfied the Commissioners, as he retained the Principalship till his death. The Commissioners restored the old foundation, and elected a canonist, a civilist, a mediciner, and a grammarian.

During thirty years of Episcopalian ascendancy at the beginning of the 17th century the university has, in respect of classical scholarship and general culture, a very good

[1] Bulloch's *History of Aberdeen University*, p. 100.

record, and can point to some famous names—the brothers Johnstons, Wedderburns, Leeches and Reids. "This was," says Bulloch, "indeed the Augustan Age of the University, and if there was a dash of pedantry about it, that, as Cosmo Innes has remarked, was the misfortune of the age, rather than the fault of Aberdeen[1]."

It was to Bishop Forbes that the university owed the establishment in 1620 of a theological chair to which his son John was appointed. The money (10,000 marks) which he collected for this purpose was invested in lands in the parish of Kinnellar, which at the present day bring to the college £400 a year. After his death in 1635 election to the chair—now called a chair of Systematic Theology—was settled by competition. This mode of appointment, which is still adhered to, is (outside China) perhaps unique. The composition of the examining body, and the subjects of examination, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, History, Philosophy and religious controversies, are practically the same as in 1642.

In 1628 the Bishop, as Chancellor, made another visitation of the college, which seems to have been followed by only one recorded enactment. It was found necessary to impose a check on the hospitable intentions of students towards their professors at graduation seasons, because parents complained of the expense of banquets which had become customary. It was accordingly enacted that they must cease, "except it sall please the saidis studentis so to be graduat [at] the tyme of their examination to bestow upoun the saidis maisteris and examinatouris ane drinke upoun fute for recreation allanerlie, without anie forder addition." The expense thus saved was appropriated by the college, every graduand being held bound to pay four pounds Scots for books to the library. There was probably behind this some general university practice. A graduate of Upsala at the present day incurs in this way considerable expense.

At this time the antagonism between Episcopacy and Covenanting Presbytery was more pronounced than at any former period. Bishop Forbes took the side of the anti-Presbyterian party. His strong personality had gathered around him,

[1] Bulloch's *History of Aberdeen University*, p. 115.

among others, the brilliant coterie of scholars and theologians known as the six Aberdeen Doctors, four of whom belonged to King's College, viz. Principal Leslie, John Forbes the Bishop's son, Alexander Scroggie, and Alexander Ross, both subsequently Rectors of King's College. The two belonging to Marischal College were Barron, Professor of Divinity, and Sibbald 'ane eloquent and painefull preacher' and Professor of Natural Philosophy.

Bishop Forbes and Principal Rait were succeeded by Bishop Bellenden and William Leslie as Chancellor and Principal respectively. Both were deposed in 1639 on their refusal to sign the Covenant.

Between the visitations in 1628 and 1638 the life of the College seems to have been uneventful and at any rate not progressive. A few unimportant changes were made, but even these were carried out with difficulty, owing to the political turmoil of the time. When the Presbyterian party came into power in 1638, the Chancellor and Principal were, as already mentioned, deposed and with them a regent "who was fled of set purpose" from the meeting, but the other officials subscribed the Covenant. Teaching was discontinued for a short time as the students had fled at the approach of Montrose with his army. Dr John Forbes, Professor of Theology, was deposed in 1641. He had appeared before the Assembly which met in Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen, in 1640, and pleased them so well by his 'ingenuitie' that, rather than depose him at once, they had "given him yet tyme for advysement." Still refusing to sign the Covenant he was deposed, "to the gryte greif of the youth and young students of theologie."

About this time Aberdeen suffered severely from the constant raids of Montrose and the Covenanters, and at last in 1640 the magistrates signed the Covenant, and the town was held by a covenanting regiment for nearly two years.

In 1641 parliament passed an act for the union of King's and Marischal Colleges in a joint university to be called in all time coming King Charles' University. For twenty years the union was merely nominal. The presence of the Principals of both Colleges at meetings in 1650 is evidence of intercourse of

some kind, but it does not appear that the administration of the two institutions was in any way affected by this statutory but nominal union. Mutual jealousy prevented the union from being hearty. By this act it was proposed that the revenues of the see of Aberdeen should be divided between the colleges in the proportion of two to King's and one to Marischal College. The Episcopal residence was given to the Principal of King's to be used as a manse.

A meeting was held in Edinburgh in 1647 to which each university sent a representative to arrange for uniformity of doctrine and government in all the Universities. A summary of the leading features of the courses in King's College must suffice.

To the first class Greek, covering among other books orations of Isocrates and Demosthenes and a book of Homer.

To the second, the dialectics of Ramus, the rhetoric of Vossius, Aristotle's categories and analytics, and some arithmetic.

To the third, logic, ethics, physics and geometry.

To the fourth, mainly astronomical subjects, and geography.

The courses of the other universities were similar, with slight differences, such as Hebrew to the first class in St Andrews; in Edinburgh and St Andrews Anatomy was taught. The session was to last from October to July.

In 1651 Cromwell paid a visit to King's College, and dismissed Guild and Middleton, Principal and Vice-Principal, and put in their places Row and Rule. Row was a man of much the same masterful type as Cromwell, and such a man was required. Since the execution of Huntly in 1649 the chancellorship had remained vacant. The college had not been visited by order of parliament, Church, or Rector. Row had all power and he made a full use of it. Though a strict disciplinarian he recognised the necessity of recreative games. Bowls, golf, football, and archery were practised, and he even fitted up a billiard room in Cromwell's Tower, but all under due supervision as to time and place.

This tower is a square building erected in 1658 in the North-East corner of the quadrangle at Row's suggestion, and largely by funds provided by Cromwell's officers, General Monk

himself being a liberal contributor. It is probable that this extension of the fabric in King's College set an example which was followed by the authorities of Marischal College, who in the course of the next year erected a new school, to which Oxford and Cambridge, and the Episcopalian clergy furnished handsome contributions.

When brother teachers from Marischal College paid a visit to King's they were supplied with "wyne, tobacco, and pyps." As Row kept elaborate accounts of expenditure, it is probable that indulgence in these luxuries was kept within reasonable bounds. Notwithstanding the vigour and care which characterised his administration he did not satisfy the Reformers. Cromwell's policy was set aside at the Restoration. The union of the colleges was rescinded, and Row was dismissed from the principalship in 1661.

Living in college was not popular with the students, but those who lived outside were subject to the same discipline as the others, and returned to supper and studied till ten. They had to attend religious services and declare themselves Protestants. A hurried summary of the way in which the day was spent is all for which space can be found. From six o'clock in summer or half-past six in winter till ten at night the student was under constant surveillance, except for a short recreative interval three times a week. After breakfast morning prayers at six, classes till ten, roll call and Scripture reading till eleven, revision and repetition of lessons till twelve, dinner[1], secular and Scripture reading till two, lectures on theological subjects till five, classes from five till six, evening prayers and Scripture reading till supper at eight, after supper singing psalms till nine, study till ten, filled up the day.

During the twelve years of his principalship Row adhered to the system of 'regenting.' By this time, Episcopacy being again in the ascendant, there were depositions and fresh appointments. Though parliament had a large share in guiding academic affairs, these constantly recurring ecclesiastical changes were not favour-

[1] Their manners at dinner were not above suspicion. They are warned not to throw bones at each other, but to place them on their plates or on the floor. Rait, p. 161.

able to steady progress or strict discipline. By an edict of the Privy Council the two Colleges were visited in 1669, when it was found that there was great laxity in respect of graduation. Degrees were being conferred privately by Regents, and without the responsibility of the Chancellor. The commission forbade degrees to be conferred except with the consent of the leading authorities in each College. They also forbade the admission of students for graduation passing from one college to another without sufficient testimonials from the college whence they came. About the same time the Privy Council thought it necessary, in the interest of the university, to forbid private tutors to lecture on university subjects. This prohibition was addressed to all the five Universities.

As already mentioned there was no love lost between the two colleges, but at this time the rivalry became accentuated. Recourse was had to undignified touting for students by the Regents of both institutions "intyseing the scholleres of the one College to the other." Commission after commission was appointed to keep the jealousy within bounds. It became at last necessary to ordain that should Professor *A* of one college admit to his class a student from Professor *B* of the other college, Professor *A* was bound to hand over to Professor *B* the student's fees.

This petty rivalry however was not an unmixed evil. Each College was put upon its mettle, Marischal College with the ardour of youth leading the way by the establishment of fresh chairs in Mathematics, Divinity, and Hebrew, King's College following suit somewhat tardily. The former had its professor of Hebrew in 1642, the latter its chair of Oriental languages in 1673. This was an event of great importance. Though Hebrew had been taught in all the universities since the Reformation, it had always in Aberdeen been conjoined with some other subject, and the instruction was wanting in thoroughness.

When Presbytery was re-established in 1690 a Parliamentary Commission visited the universities. It was ordained that all Regents except "Principals, Professors of Divinity and other Professors" should be appointed by examination[1]. The ex-

[1] It may be inferred from this that in some of the universities 'regenting' in the old sense had been given up, and that Regents were on a lower level than Professors.

amination seems to have been conducted in much the same way as the final graduation disputation. Reforms of greater or less importance were made in all the universities, but security for the loyalty of the candidates and their subscription to the Confession of Faith were the main objects of the Commissioners. Among other reforms they shortened the session to eight months, and ordained that students should wear red gowns. This latter ordinance was obeyed everywhere but in Edinburgh.

Before their labours were ended the Commissioners revived the consideration of a scheme which had been proposed in 1647. The proposal was to divide the philosophical subjects among the four universities—Metaphysics to St Andrews, Logic to Glasgow, Ethics and Mathematics to Aberdeen, and Physics to Edinburgh. This 'cursus philosophicus' met with little favour and dropped out of sight. Nevertheless there was much sense in the scheme. The Scottish Universities cannot afford such a staff as to make them copies of Oxford and Cambridge in spite of all the efforts of the last twenty years. But in the seventeenth century the difficulties of travelling made the scheme impracticable. The vexed question of the *Nova Fundatio* was again in evidence before a Commission in Aberdeen in 1696 but no satisfactory conclusion was reached.

CHAPTER X

SECOND PERIOD (1560 TO 1696) MARISCHAL COLLEGE

As already mentioned the difficulty and delay in establishing the *Nova Fundatio* in King's College led to the founding of Marischal College in 1593. Its endowment consisted of all the property formerly belonging to the Grey, Black, and White Friars, together with lands of the Abbey of Deer and of the Knights Templar in Kincardine. The rules for management much resemble those for the new foundations of the three old universities, and the charter granted by James to Edinburgh. The staff was to consist of a Principal, three Regents, six bursars, a steward and cook. The Principal had professorial duties, the teaching of Scripture, Hebrew, Syriac, Physiology[1], Anatomy, Geography, and History. The subjects to be taught by the Regents are specified, but present no features calling for detailed statement. We find however what was to be expected from the founder's favour for the *Nova Fundatio*, that the teachers are not to "shift about to new professorships" so that "the youths who ascend step by step may have a teacher worthy of their studies and talents." In this we see both the hand of Melville and the broader views of the Earl Marischal himself. This continued till 1642, when for no assigned reason 'regenting' was restored, as it had been the year before in King's College. Marischal College was to be residential for all except students (probably the majority) who were not bursars. For other students residence was optional, but they were subject to the same strict

[1] Physiology 300 years ago probably meant Zoology, or Nature Knowledge, and what is now called Physics.

discipline on Sundays and week-days, at play and meal times, as the other members. The bursars had a distinctive dress and did certain menial services such as in old days were performed by sizars in Oxford and Cambridge. The curriculum covered four years and was on the whole post-Reformation in character, but Aristotle's Ethics still had a place. Latin or Greek was the language to be used, and the wearing of arms of any kind was forbidden. Examinations were to be held at entrance, graduation, and the beginning of each year. The Chancellor, Rector, and Dean of Faculty were to inspect the college in October, February, and June, and see that the members were free from "the darkness of Popery." Teachers were to be nominated by the Founder or his heirs, but to be examined by the Chancellor, Rector, Dean of Faculty, Principal of King's College and certain ministers. The Rector was to be elected by the 'nations' through their Procurators. In Marischal College the 'nations' were Marenses, Buchanenses, Moravienses and Angusiani, representing the inhabitants of Mar, Buchan, and Moray respectively, and the Angusiani the inhabitants of the South and foreigners. The steward was to give a weekly account of his payments. The higher officials might be married, but no wife, daughter or maid-servant was allowed to live in the College. Regents on being married were obliged to resign their office. The charter was sanctioned by the General Assembly in April 1593 and in July was ratified by parliament. Till near the middle of the 17th century the monastery of Greyfriars granted by the Town Council was with slight adaptations the only building used for academic purposes.

By the Earl's transferring to his College his own motto "Thay haif said. Quhat say thay? Lat thame say," we have an indication of his impatience with the delay of the King's College authorities in accepting the new foundation.

A year before the foundation of Marischal College Sir Alexander Fraser, probably by way of protest against the obstinacy of King's College in refusing to adopt the New Foundation, erected in Faithlie—the old name of Fraserburgh—a university to which James gave a grant of lands and the powers and privileges usually conferred on universities. Five years

later parliament made a further grant of church lands[1]. In 1605 it ceased to exist, but the building was probably used in 1647, when owing to the plague in Aberdeen King's College was temporarily transferred to Fraserburgh and Marischal College to Peterhead[2].

During the first twenty years of its existence Marischal College received contributions for bursaries and other college purposes from private persons, the most important of which was a bequest by Dr Liddell of lands from which were furnished bursaries, classical prizes, and the endowment of a chair of Mathematics.

Fresh bursaries came in during the next twelve years, and a chair of Divinity was founded, the first lecturer being William Forbes, one of the 'Aberdeen doctors.' On being urgently pressed he accepted the Principalship also, but after a year's experience of the combined duties he demitted office, accepted ministerial duty in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and was in 1633 elected first Bishop of Edinburgh.

Forbes was a keen adherent of Episcopacy, and therefore variously estimated according as his critics were Presbyterian or Episcopal. Bishop Burnet calls him "a grave and eminent divine," while Row in his *History* speaks of him thus, "If Mr Forbes had left in legacy a confession of his faith, you would have seen a strange and miscellaneous farrago and hotch-potch of Popery, Arminianism, Lutheranism, and what not[3]."

Between the appointment of Principal Dun in 1621 as a successor to William Forbes and 1639 there are few incidents of educational interest. Several valuable bursaries were instituted. There were bequests of mathematical instruments and books, and the gift of a house for dormitories by the Town Council. In 1639 fire broke out at night and destroyed a considerable part of the college adjacent to Thomas Reid's library, which Gordon in his *Scots Affairs* says was "the best library that ever the north parts of Scotland saw." The fire was extinguished by the

[1] Act of Parliament, 1597, vol. IV. pp. 147–8.

[2] It was only in comparatively recent times that the buildings in Fraserburgh disappeared, and the street in which they stood is still called College Bounds. Pratt's *Buchan*, 4th ed., pp. 271, 272.

[3] Rait's *Hist. of Univ. of Aberdeen*, p. 271.

help of the crew of a vessel in the harbour. The College was rebuilt three years afterwards.

In 1640 all the Regents signed the Covenant except one, who, when questioned about his refusal, declared plainly that he was a Roman Catholic. The distinctly Protestant character of the College is evident from the regulation that "every student had to subscribe the Covenant before the Principal on entrance, before the Rector on matriculating, before the Dean of Faculty on graduation, and at least once a year[1]."

Within the next two years eight bursaries and a Hebrew lectureship were instituted. In connection with this lectureship the council ordains the Provost and Principal Dun to arrange with John Row, one of the town's ministers, and afterwards Principal of King's College, for a Hebrew lesson being given once a week. At the meeting in Edinburgh in 1647, at which all the universities were represented, Marischal College presented to the Commissioners a report of its courses of instruction very similar to that sent in by King's College. In both Aristotle occupies a prominent place[2].

Dun was succeeded in 1649 by Principal Moir, who along with the Regents appointed, of their own motion, a lecturer in Humanity, for whose remuneration they surrendered part of their salaries. Such self-sacrifice is as admirable as it is rare. Why such a lectureship was required does not appear. Possibly the Latin in daily use was deteriorating, and greater attainments in it were necessary to the intelligent apprehension of lectures delivered in that language. The arrangement was carried out for about twelve years, when it was discontinued and not resumed for a century and a half.

Neither the Commonwealth nor the Restoration produced important changes in the College. During the former several endowments were received, and, as already mentioned on p. 135, subscriptions "towards the building of a new public school in Marischal College," were contributed by Oxford, Cambridge and Eton. Immediately after the Restoration parliament passed an act confirming the Earl's charter, and giving anew to all the

[1] Bulloch's *History of Aberdeen University*, p. 94.

[2] See Appendix for comparison of the courses in 1647 and 1690.

members the privileges and jurisdiction appertaining to any free college in the realm.

The terms of this Act of Confirmation and the specification of privileges and jurisdiction warrant the inference that the College had obtained distinctly University rank. For the next twenty years the administration of the college was uneventful. Even the troublous times of the Revolution left it practically unscathed.

APPENDIX A.

Courses in Marischal College in 1647.

1. "Unto these of the first classe is taught Clenardus, Antesignanus his Grammar; for orations twa of Demosthenes, ane of Isocrates; for poets, Phocyllides, and some portions of Homer, with the haill New Testament.

2. "Unto the second class a brieff compend of the Logickis, the text of Porphrie, and Aristotele's Organon, accurately explained; the haill questiones ordinarily disputed to the end of the demonstrationes.

3. "To the thrid the first twa bookis of Ethickis and the first fyve chapteris of the thrid, text and questiones, the first fyve books of acroamaticks, quæstiones de compositione continua, and some of the eight bookis.

4. "To the fourt, the bookis de cælo, de generatione, the meteors, de anima, Joannes a Sacro bosco on the spheare, with some geometry."

Courses in Marischal College in 1690.

1. The first year students "are instructed in Philologie, Hebrew, Greek and Latine, and the principles of Arithmetick; and when they have made some progress in those languages, towards the middle of the year, they declaime and make public orationes befor the masters and students upon some commendable subject both in Greek and Latine."

2. Those of the second year "are instructed in Logick and the methods of reasoning, both conforme to the principle of old and new Philosophie, their severall penses and taskes are explained each morning by the master of this class, and are examined each night, and in the forenoone ther are constant repetitions of what hath been formerly taught and examined. When they are for some pairt of this year advanced in their Logick they doe then dispute publickly and do emitt theses and the disput is moderat by one of the professors. They are likeways instructed in the principles of Geometrie, and have their publick declamations each week for that year and in the close of the week are examined of ane sacred lessone, and upon Sabbath dayes after sermon do give ane account of God's Word preached unto them."

3. Those of the third year "are instructed in the Generall Physiologie and principles of Natural Philosophie conform to the old and new Philosophie. Ther is taught to them ane idea of all the hypotheses, both ancient and modern. After the periode and close of the philosophick course they are by their respective masters informed in the principles of Morality and Aethicks."

4. The fourth year students "are instructed in the knowledge of Metaphysicks and Speciall Phisiologie, are informed how to explain all the particular phenomena of nature...are instructed in the principles of Astronomie...undergo ane tryall and examen of their proficiency in all the four years' courses befor the Principall and Masters, and therafter doe emitt public theses, which they defend in ane solemn maner in presence of all the Doctors, Professors, and learned men of the University. And therafter, after they have solemnly bound themselves by oath to the Protestant Religione, and to be gratefull to their Alma Mater, they doe, conforme to their severall qualifications, receive the degree of Masters of Arts."

CHAPTER XI

SECOND PERIOD (1583 TO 1696). EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

THE origin of the University of Edinburgh is a subject on which conflicting accounts are given, and which it is impossible here to discuss at length[1]. More cannot be attempted than a summarised statement of accepted facts. It is unquestionable that Bishop Reid in 1557 bequeathed 8000 merks for the purpose of establishing a college in which arts and law should be taught. There is no good reason for thinking that he meant by this the founding of a university, but simply such a school of "arts and jure" as is referred to in the act of 1496. But whatever was his intention, it is certain that it was not fulfilled. Through the neglect or mismanagement of his executors 2500 merks, after more than twenty years, fell into the hands of the Town Council, and were employed in helping to build "the Town's College" for which a charter had been got. Only to this extent, and probably without intention, can he be regarded as one of the founders of the university. In Craufurd's history of the university we are told that "the three older universities by the power of the Bishops bearing some sway in the Kirk, and more in the State, did let their enterprise[2]." In what way this opposition was operative, and how it was overcome, is not known.

For twenty years, from 1561 onwards, the Town Council, and ultimately the ministers of Edinburgh, made vigorous efforts for the promotion of advanced education by appeals to Queen Mary "to grant to the Town the place, yards, and annuals, of the Friars and Altarages of the Kirk, for maintenance of the Grammar School, as also for the Regents of a College to be built within

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, vol. I. pp. 97–9 and 168–9.

[2] Craufurd's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 19.

this Burgh." In 1564 the Town Council, after negotiations with the Provost of the Collegiate Church of Kirk-of-Field for the purchase of that site, speak of "making a university." The purchase however was not completed. Two years later the Queen, probably under compulsion and much against her will, "granted her Charter conveying the Kirk-of-Field and all other monastic property in Edinburgh to the Town Council for the support of Protestant ministers and the poor[1]." This again was on the advice of James VI devoted to education. The founding of a college was not included in this grant. Queen Mary, besides, qualified the grant by a condition that the present incumbents were to have a life-rent of their benefices, the result of which was that in 1581 the ministers and citizens of Edinburgh, "having obtained," as Craufurd says, "a gift of a University, purchased their right of the Kirk-of-Field, to be a place for the situation of the intended college[2]."

It is on all hands admitted that James Lawson, in association with Balcanquhall, Little, and Charteris, was the man to whom the foundation of the Edinburgh College is due[3]. In 1578 and for several years thereafter the rivalry between the Presbyterian and Episcopal parties was keen. Craufurd, with probably some exaggeration, says, "the Bishops were then universally abhorred in the whole Kirk of Scotland," and that "the time being favourable, was well plyed by the ministers and citizans of Edinburgh." Lawson had very high qualities in respect of both piety and culture, and had the honour of being appointed successor to John Knox as Chief Minister of Edinburgh. "By his earnest dealing," says Craufurd, "the High Grammar School was compleated in the place of the ruined monastery of the Blackfriars, with some intention, if no more could be obtained, at least to make it *scholam illustrem*, with profession of Logick and the parts of Philosophie in private classes[4]."

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 103.

[2] Craufurd's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 21.

[3] "In the year after its opening its chief promoter, and best and wisest friend, James Lawson, was banished from Scotland by the influence of the Earl of Arran, and shortly afterwards died in London, to the great grief of all the godly." Sir Alex. Grant, p. 158.

[4] Craufurd's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 20.

The phrase "having obtained the gift of a University" has given rise to a question as to the possible loss of the original charter for the foundation of the college. Sir Alexander Grant discusses very ably and at considerable length this question, for which, because its bearing, though interesting, is antiquarian and speculative rather than educational, room cannot be found in this volume[1].

About the genuineness of King James's charter of April 14th, 1582, there is no question. It has no resemblance to the Bulls founding the three earlier universities. It nowhere speaks of founding a *studium generale*, says nothing about privileges, faculties, or staff. Queen Mary's charter provides only for the ministry and the poor. To this King James, then a boy 16 years of age, doubtless by the advice of the Regent, adds "the furtherance of education and learning." It gives power to the Town Council to accept of endowments in support of the objects mentioned, to build schools and colleges for professors and students, and appoint suitable teachers with the advice of the ministers. But while the Council may provide for the teaching of humanity, philosophy, theology, medicine, laws, and other liberal sciences as in a *studium generale*, this name is not given to the institution nor is the word 'university' used. The early Reformers had little favour for such independent institutions in which heresy might be taught unchecked.

At the same time it must be admitted that for nearly a hundred years before it is designated as a university in the town's records of 1685, it did the work and discharged at least one of the functions belonging to a university. In 1587 degrees were conferred on 48 students. In this respect it resembled the Academy of Geneva which, though not recognised by the King of France as a university, conferred degrees which were recognised by some universities as valid.

Meanwhile in 1583 they began to "inclose the present precincts of the College with walls[2]," the chief part of which was "Hamilton House" on the north side of the present quadrangle. In this large house class-rooms, a hall, and sleeping apartments

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, pp. 107—120.
[2] Craufurd, p. 23.

were provided. This house and a wing added by the Town Council represented all the building with which the Town's College opened its career.

This done, the Town Council "began to deliberate on a Rector to preside over the Academy[1]," and their choice by the advice of Lawson fell on Robert Rollock, a young man of high reputation for both scholarship and character. He had never been out of Scotland, as the heads of the three older universities had been. He was the only teacher, and was engaged for only one year, subject to "using himself faithfully," at a salary of £40 Scots and fees, which, in the debased condition of Scots currency at the time, represented between £20 and £25 sterling. This beginning, humble in itself, and especially in comparison with the dignity and *éclat* derived from the intervention of Bishops, Kings, and Papal Bulls in the founding of the older universities, affords very strong presumptive evidence that, whatever may have been the more ambitious aims of Lawson and Charteris, the development of the Town's College into a famous University was a gradual process, not seriously, if at all, dreamt of by the King or Town Council at its inception.

The college from the outset aimed at a university standard. An entrance examination was prescribed, and as a number of students came up insufficiently acquainted with Latin, which was the language to be used both in lectures and conversation, Duncan Nairn was appointed a second master, to take charge of a preparatory or tutorial class, attendance at which did not count for graduation. The college opened with about 80 students, 50 under Rollock, the rest under Nairn. The college was residential. The students slept in it, and wore gowns. Neither of these regulations seems to have been fully carried out afterwards. The first was departed from probably from

[1] Consultare de Rectore qui Academiae praeesset. Charteris, *Life of Rollock*, p. 42. Sir A. Grant, p. 130, is probably right in thinking that Charteris purposely used *Rector* and *Academy* from their ambiguous meaning, the former being applied to a high University Official, and also to the head of a grammar school, the latter being the word by which the Humanists designated a university, and also the name of the degree-giving Institution of Geneva, which was declared not to be a university. Charteris thus furnished himself with a defence in the event of exception being taken to the ambiguous words.

want of room, the second because a distinctive garb was disliked, but in both we have evidence of the survival of medieval usage. There is no information in the city records as to how the collegiate life in respect of food was conducted. Craufurd says that when the Abbey of Paisley became vacant by the forfeiture of the Hamiltons and Erskines, at the King's donation it was bestowed on the city, and that there was some intention of using part of it towards provision for household expenses, but "revolutions of State quashed the design[1]."

After the establishment of bursaries in 1597 we have evidence of another medieval survival in the menial services demanded of the bursars, who in turns rang the bell for the assembling and dismissal of classes, and kept the stairs and passages clean by brushes attached to their feet. This was called "paidelling." The rigidity of the rules about play, work, religious observances, church attendance, and subsequent examination on the scope of the sermons, all suggest the same medieval origin. From ten to eleven months in the year every hour of a long day was spent under the constant supervision of a Regent. Notwithstanding these marks of a domestic or collegiate rather than a university constitution, degrees continued to be conferred with no apparent source for the assumption of an authority which had hitherto been derived only from either Kings or Popes. These degrees were recognised as valid, and the power to confer them was ratified by the Act of 1621. We are probably warranted in supposing that the Town's College gradually grew into a University by usage or prescriptive right.

It is beyond question that from its commencement under Rollock the college took the attitude and adopted the fashions of a university in respect of study, course for graduation, and nomenclature of classes—Bajan, Semi-Bajan, Bachelor, and Magistrand for the four years of the curriculum[2]. The lines of study were much the same as in the older universities with improvements suggested by experience. The chief dif-

[1] Craufurd's *Hist. of Edin. Univ.* p. 26.

[2] Bajan from Bec-jaune, yellow beak, or unfledged bird. Bachelor from Baschevalier, indicating incomplete degree. The derivation is, according to Skeat, unsettled. In Aberdeen Tertian is the name for the third year student.

ferences were that while literature and scholarship had little attention given them in medieval times, the first year was now devoted to Greek and Latin and that it was no longer sufficient to have Aristotle studied from Latin translations. The *Organon* and New Testament were to be read in the original Greek; the *Dialectics* of Ramus, the *Rhetoric* of Talaeus, Cosmography, and descriptive Anatomy formed part of the course for graduation. Geometry and History had not yet found a place in the curriculum.

As the number of students increased, one Regent after another was appointed, till in session 1589—90 there were, besides Rollock, who had ceased to be a Regent on being made Professor of Theology, four Regents appointed, each of whom carried the Bajan class, with which in rotation he commenced, through the four years to graduation. The Reformers wished to abolish this rotation of Regents, but it continued till the beginning of the 18th century, and was gradually given up as the subjects covered a wider range, each demanding more fulness and accuracy than could be expected from a teacher, much of whose time had to be devoted to other subjects.

In the examination for degrees no Regent was allowed to examine the class he had taught. This regulation, coupled with the strictness of discipline already referred to, the small size of the classes and frequent examinations seems to warrant the inference that the student who crowned his four years with the degree of Master was probably not inferior to the modern graduate[1]. We have here again a trace of medievalism. The backbone of the examination was Aristotle's *Organon, Analytics, Topics* and *Ethics*, the *Dialectics* of Ramus, and Astronomy. Greek as a specific subject was omitted, probably because the reading of Aristotle in the original was thought a sufficient test

[1] It appears from Craufurd's *History*, p. 61, that the first ten graduations under Rollock give an annual average of 28. The candidates for graduation were arranged in classes or circles. The most distinguished were above the circles; the next were placed in the first circle; the next were those who nearly approached the first circle; the next were placed in the second circle. All these passed with honours. The last contained the names of those who, though falling below honours, were worthy to be ranked as graduates.

of that language. Other omissions are Hebrew Grammar, Anatomy, and Geography, which were apparently thought not essential for degrees.

The candidates for 'honours' were arranged in five classes, the fifth or lowest being those who fell short of honours but were thought worthy of a bare pass.

The ceremonies connected with graduation were more elaborate then than now. On the day before it all the successful candidates signed the Confession of Faith, and solemnly promised loyalty to their Alma Mater. The next day, from the morning till six in the evening, was occupied with disputations on a Thesis drawn up by the Senior Regent, in the presence of the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Privy Councillors, Lords of Session, and Advocates. They were conducted in Latin, several students being appointed to defend the Thesis against all antagonists, some of whom were frequently ministers and lawyers who had been educated in foreign universities. This exercise did not affect the graduation list, but was engaged in as being a useful and interesting test of expertness in argument. It is to such disputations that the academic term *wrangler* owes its origin.

Education in Theology was introduced in 1586 when Rollock was appointed Professor of that subject. It was not a class for graduation, but simply a course of lectures for the benefit of those who intended to become ministers. Into this work Rollock threw himself with all the earnestness and wisdom which characterised him throughout the whole of his career.

We see from the preceding pages that the college, which on 'the day of small things' started with a single Regent, had taken root, had its Regent changed into a Principal and Professor of Theology with the oversight of four Regents, and a power of conferring degrees after a curriculum of distinctly University type recognised as valid. It had not yet got a Professor of Law, but in 1590 an effort—unfortunately unsuccessful—was made in this direction. The circumstances that led to its failure are obscure and in some respects mysterious. Sir Alexander Grant has made an exceedingly able attempt to penetrate the

mystery, but as it is not essential to our purpose it does not seem necessary to do more than state the facts[1].

Three parties, the Lords of Session, the Advocates and Writers to the Signet, and the Town Council provided each £1000, the Town Council obliging themselves to pay £300 a year interest on the £3000 towards the maintenance of a "Professor of the Laws." Adam Newton got the first appointment, and held it for four years, when, "not having the approbation of the Town Council," he was removed, and Sir Adrian Damman was appointed and held it for three years. "Both of them did only professe Humanitie publicly in the College without any mention of the Lawes[2]." The mystery is—why did neither of them lecture on Law?

In 1597 the three parties to the proposal of a Professor of Laws resolved to give it up altogether. For this resolution no reason is recorded. The £300 destined for it was divided into two portions, £200 to establish six bursaries, and £100 for a salary to a private Professor of Humanity. The qualification of this appointment by "private" can only mean that the duties attached to it were tutorial and below university rank, for the Humanity class was not yet matriculated, and did not count towards graduation. The Professor or Regent of Humanity was on a lower level than the other Regents. We have evidence of this in the fact that it was by no means uncommon for him to exchange his position for the Rectorship of grammar schools such as the Edinburgh High School (p. 7), and even the Canongate grammar School.

Professorships of Latin in the modern sense were first established in St Andrews in 1620, in Glasgow in 1637, and in Aberdeen in 1839.

That it was thought expedient to appoint a teacher of Latin in connection with the University may seem to indicate a general falling off in acquaintance with Latin after the Reformation, but it must be remembered that medieval and especially conversational Latin was monastic and made no pretension to classical

[1] Grant's *Story of Edin. Univ.*, I, pp. 184—9. It may be added here that no Professor of Law was appointed till 1707.

[2] Craufurd, p. 35.

purity, and might be fairly likened to the working knowledge of French and German acquired by the average commercial traveller or domestic servant, who has spent a few months in France or Germany. Another reason for a preparatory Latin class in the college was that a habit—not yet outgrown—was gradually creeping in of sending boys to college at an age when they would have been better at school. To such an extent had this habit grown that in 1656 the Town Council proposed to abolish the Humanity class, "as prejudicial not only to the Grammar School but to the College itself[1]." Another reason is furnished by the desire for a purer Latinity created by the Humanists at the Renaissance, for which systematic teaching was indispensable.

In 1620 the joint offices of Principal and Professor of Divinity, which till then had been held first by Rollock and then by Charteris, were separated. For a discussion of this separation and the appointment of a layman to the Principalship, reference must be made to Sir Alexander Grant's *History*, I, 195—203. Suffice it to say that on the death of Rollock and the resignation of his successor Charteris, Patrick Sands, formerly a Regent, a layman who had been unsuccessful at the bar, was, by what many thought scandalous nepotism, made Principal. This arrangement involved the necessity of appointing permanently, as it turned out, an additional Professor of Divinity, who had nothing to do with the systematic teaching of Theology. As the ministers of Edinburgh had, by negotiation in 1608, a joint voice with the Town Council in the appointment of college officials, it is probably not unfair to allow the charge of jobbery to be shared between them. The separation of the two offices is the more indefensible, when we learn that in several cases the Professor of Divinity undertook the charge of a city church in addition to his college duties which were exceedingly light.

Step by step the college was steadily advancing towards the status of a university. One step was the foundation of this new Chair of Divinity, for which endowment and a house for the Professor were provided by a number of donations—some very large—during the early years of the 17th century. Others were the

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 193.

promotion of the senior and second Regents to the rank of public Professors of Mathematics and Metaphysics respectively. These Professors did not cease to be rotating Regents, but in addition to their former duties they delivered two lectures a week, presumably of higher type, to the two highest classes. There was no important change in the system of graduation. Yet another step was taken when the Act of Parliament of 1621 granted to the college and all its members "all liberties, freedoms, and immunities, and privileges appertaining to a free college, and that in as ample form and large manner as any college has or enjoys within His Majesty's realm[1]." The terms here employed are practically identical with those by which the Charter of Marischal College (which could confer degrees) was confirmed and accordingly made the College of Edinburgh a University.

For ten years during which the Rectorship was held by Ramsay and Lord Prestongrange its duties were nominal, and the office fell into abeyance for nine years, when in 1640 it was revived and conferred on Alexander Henderson with important duties attached to it; see *Dictionary of National Biography.* These duties may be shortly described as a general supervision of everything connected with the college, financial and academic alike. This function he discharged with rare fidelity and judgment, raising for college purposes a loan on the security of the town, and securing to the college the assignation of "remnants of rents of the Deanery of Edinburgh and of the Bishopric of Orkney." To him was due the commencement of new accommodation for the library and other necessary buildings. By his advice the first appointment was made of a Professor of Hebrew to which, in spite of its importance in a College of Theology, little attention had hitherto been paid. By overtures to the General Assembly in 1645 he got provision made for the visitation of grammar schools, for more careful examination for degrees, for entrance examinations and for correspondence and uniformity of standard between Edinburgh and the older universities. He took an active and effective part in carrying out university reforms of all kinds.

On his death the Rectorship was again given to Andrew

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 204.

Ramsay and after him to Douglas, both eminent ministers. But in 1665 the Town Council resolved that in all time coming the Lord Provost should be Rector and Governor of the college. We have in this resolution evidence of the difference between Edinburgh and the older universities in respect of origin. In Edinburgh it was distinctly municipal. All its most important transactions—sometimes self-assertive and injudicious as in this instance—were due to the initiative of the Council.

Up to this point only incidental reference has been made to the foundation of chairs connected with the medical profession. We find vague and unsatisfactory mention of Professors of Medicine and Anatomy, but nothing definite as to their exact position and academic importance. And yet it is the fact that, ages before the idea of a university or even a *schola illustris* in Edinburgh had taken shape, earnest workers had initiated a movement, which was to have as its result in 1505 the incorporation of the fraternity of Barber-Surgeons, the earliest surgical corporation in the United Kingdom.

Long before this time monks, as being the only educated body, had charge of the treatment of disease. These early labourers in the field of medical or surgical practice had little, if any, help from the recorded experience of their predecessors. Printing was only thirty years old. The country was not more than half civilised, and only a small minority could read or write. Scourgings, hangings, and beheadings were surroundings little suited to encourage peaceable pursuits or scientific research. Notwithstanding these unfavourable conditions the pioneers of medical science had so far established an honourable reputation, that they were granted a charter confirmed by royal authority, by which they were invested with the right of not only practising and teaching medical science, but of deciding by examination the qualifications of all who wished to join the corporation of Barber-Surgeons.

The relation of barbers to the Church requires a word of explanation. Originally, and for centuries, barbers were little more than servants of the clergy for the discharge of certain duties, such as shaving of heads and letting of blood. But in the 13th century the Church issued a solemn edict for-

bidding its Clerics and Doctors to soil their hands with blood, "Ecclesia abhorret e sanguine." The inevitable effect of this edict was to split up medical practice into two departments, one for Surgery, the other for the dispensing of Medicine. The former of course fell to the barbers, the latter to the monks[1]. This edict does not seem to have been strictly obeyed, for, towards the end of the 14th century, we find some of the clergy practising the arts of both medicine and surgery with great success.

Meanwhile the Barber-Surgeons in the course of centuries had through experience and study accumulated practical skill, and could afford to disregard the attempts made by the practitioners of physic to debar them from practising surgery. They felt their own strength, and that it was from every point of view desirable that a remedy should be found for this irregular and uncomfortable state of matters. The "Seal of Cause" under which the Royal College of Surgeons was established furnished the remedy required. For a good many years after its establishment no records seem to have been kept of its proceedings, but that its course was one of steady and most satisfactory progress cannot be doubted. A clear proof of the estimation in which its members were held is found in the fact that, before the end of the 17th century, a number of them had been appointed surgeons in royal households. That the college had a large share in establishing the famous medical school of Edinburgh is beyond question.

The corporation was at first simply a civic institution and derived its powers from the local authorities. The document called a "Seal of Cause," for which royal authority had been obtained, provides that no one shall practise the craft of surgeon or barber unless he be a freeman and burgess, expert in all points belonging to the said craft, and has been examined and approved for his knowledge of anatomy and all the veins, so as to practise phlebotomy on proper occasions. It provides also that, once a year, the body of a condemned man be handed over to the craft for dissection. We see from this how far these early

[1] Dr J. Smith, *Royal College of Surgeons*, pp. 7—10, 1905: an admirable account of the college published in connection with the Fourth Centenary.

workers were ahead of their age, when we find that, many years after this, Charles V appointed an assembly of divines in Salamanca to discuss whether it was consistent with religion and conscience to dissect a human body for the purposes of science[1]. We cannot but regard with pride and profound respect those who in a semi-barbarous age thus led the way in scientific research, and laid the foundation of this famous medical school.

The Physicians and Apothecaries were not yet incorporated, and viewed with a strong feeling of jealousy the success of the Surgeons in being practically the only legitimate teachers and practitioners of the healing art in all its forms. The apothecaries had naturally, to begin with, a closer connection with the physicians than with the surgeons, but in view of the vigour shown by the surgeons, and the somewhat offensive assumption of superiority and right of interference by the physicians, they thought it advisable to cast in their lot with the surgeons. Hence the institution by the Town Council of Surgeon-Apothecaries of Edinburgh to which all apothecaries, who were freemen and passed a specified examination, were admissible. This Act of Council was confirmed by ratification in parliament in 1695. Its subsequent development will be dealt with in our Third Period.

In the latter half of the 17th century the teaching of literature, science, and arts, was at a very low ebb, but a brilliant change was at hand. The Gregorys and Maclaurin early in the 18th century by their mathematical research made the college famous. Sibbald, Pitcairne, Balfour, Burnett, and others eminent in medical science laid the foundation of the now famous medical school of Edinburgh. A lease of the garden belonging to Trinity Hospital was got from the Town Council for the start of a Botanical Garden which in the course of a few years was incorporated into the college. Within five years of the end of the century a professor of Botany was appointed.

Sibbald and those associated with him meanwhile revived a proposal for the establishment of the Royal College of Physicians, towards which attempts had been made fifty years before. These were renewed in 1630, and again in 1656, but without

[1] Hutchinson's *Biographia Medica*, II, p. 472.

success. After strong opposition by the surgeon-apothecaries and the town of Edinburgh, Sibbald got, with the full concurrence of the other universities, a patent signed by Charles II for the proposal. The conditions specified in the patent were:

1st. That the College of Physicians should have no power to erect a medical school or confer degrees.

2nd. That its patent should be without prejudice to the rights and privileges conceded to the University or College of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

3rd. That graduates of the said universities might freely practise medicine in the other university towns. If they resided in Edinburgh they would be subject to the Bye-Laws of the College of Physicians; but all university graduates might claim to be licentiated by the college without examination and without fee.

This was followed by an Act of Council in March, 1685, in the following terms: "The Council considering that the College of this city being from the original erection and foundation thereof, by his Majesty King James VI, erected into a University, and endowed with the privilege of erecting professorships of all sorts, particularly of medicine, and that the Physicians have procured from his late Majesty, King Charles II, a patent erecting them into a College of Physicians, and that there is therefore a necessity that there should be a Professor of Physic in the said College; and understanding the great abilities and qualifications of Sir Robert Sibbald, unanimously elect, nominate, and choose the said Sir Robert Sibbald to be Professor of Physic in the said University, and appoint convenient rooms in the College to be provided for him, where he is to teach the art of Medicine[1]."

In September of the same year the Council appointed Halket and Pitcairne as colleagues to Sibbald as Professors of Medicine. Sutherland had already been elected Professor of Botany. A Faculty of Medicine was thus practically established. The Professors of Medicine had neither salaries nor specified duties. They taught how and what they pleased. The attainments in languages and philosophy which Sibbald expected from students

[1] Act of Council, March 1685.

attending his lectures would have been a stumbling-block to the average medical student of the present day[1].

The college or university, as it may without impropriety now be called, expanded in other directions. Under the wise and energetic Principalship of Carstares a Chair of Ecclesiastical History was founded in 1702 and was followed by a Professorship of Law.

This and further expansions will be dealt with when the third and fourth periods are reached.

SUMMARY.

During the 136 years covered by this period university life in all the five Institutions was in a continual state of change and unrest. There were no fewer than seven alternations between Presbytery and Episcopacy. This was in many ways hostile to academic progress in spite of the generally beneficent influence of men of the type of Andrew Melville, Knox, Buchanan, Spottiswoode, Henderson, Arbuthnot, Carstares, &c. They had all been injured by the Reformation, and the greed of the nobility in appropriating funds meant for education.

The medieval character of the teaching underwent considerable changes. The Rector was no longer a teacher. The substitution of professorial for regent teaching was alternately adopted and rejected. Commissions were appointed and visitations made with little effect. Funds were wanting, the number of students was reduced, and the classes in Glasgow and Aberdeen temporarily broken up. In 1563 Queen Mary made to Glasgow a bequest which, though not intended for, was by King James devoted to education, and revived not the University but the Faculty of Arts, which practically represented it.

Melville on becoming Principal of Glasgow broadened and

[1] In the *Edinburgh Courant* of 14th Feb. 1706, he published an advertisement, in excellent Latin, to those who wished to be admitted to his lectures on Natural History and Medicine, ending with a warning that he would not enrol as students any who did not know Latin and Greek, all Philosophy, and the fundamentals of Mathematics. Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 227.

liberalised the curriculum, and by checking a habit that had crept in of conferring degrees too loosely, he stimulated exertion and caused graduation to be valued. The result of a conference between Melville and Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was the production of new schemes of studies and administration for Glasgow and St Andrews. Earl Marischal, annoyed that more than twelve years had been wasted over the settlement of the *nova fundatio* for Aberdeen, founded in 1593 Marischal College. In four years thereafter the *nova fundatio* was sanctioned subject to revision by the commissioners. The antagonism between Episcopacy and Presbytery was very strong, the one party demanding, the other refusing, signature to the Covenant, and was a serious hindrance to progress, but the record of nearly thirty years of Episcopal ascendancy was very good.

By an Act of Parliament in 1641 King's and Marischal Colleges were united. The union was for many years merely nominal owing to mutual jealousy. Each college seems to have kept to its own administration. This jealousy was not an unmixed evil, but in some respects a healthy stimulus to progress, Marischal with youthful vigour leading the way. Some changes introduced by Cromwell in 1651 as the result of a visit he paid to the northern university were set aside at the Restoration.

On the re-establishment of Presbytery in 1690 a Parliamentary Commission, among several important changes, recommended consideration of a former proposal about the distribution of philosophical subjects among the four universities. This suggestion, called a "cursus philosophicus," came to nothing. The management rules of Marischal College were similar to those of the other universities. It received many contributions from private sources for the foundation of bursaries and chairs. Its character was distinctly Protestant, and its curriculum mainly post-Reformation, Aristotle still occupying a prominent position.

We have seen that the Town's College in Edinburgh commenced with no such high aim as the foundation of a university, that its origin was mainly municipal, owing nothing to Bishop's patronage or Papal Bull, and that step by step it reached

University rank by the Act of 1621. But we have seen also that within four years after 1583—the date of the King's charter for the founding of a college—graduation was conferred on 48 students, which shows that it was discharging one of the functions of a University, though still designated simply as a College. This it continued to do till its right to the title was beyond question. An account necessarily short, but perhaps intelligible, has been given of the establishment of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians.

CHAPTER XII

THIRD PERIOD (1696—1872). BURGH AND OTHER SCHOOLS

In dealing with the second period we saw that between the Church and Town Councils a *modus vivendi* as to their respective rights in the patronage and appointment of masters to burgh schools had been found, which was, as a rule, but not always, satisfactory. The Town Councils had begun to take a more lively interest and to exercise greater influence in the management of schools, but they had the good sense to ask the cooperation of the Presbytery in filling up vacancies in their grammar schools, such as Ayr in 1710, Kinghorn in 1725, and St Andrews in 1728[1]. In other cases Kirk sessions acquired a right to a share of jurisdiction by contributing to the salary of the master, as in Crail in 1716[2].

In yet other cases the patronage was transferred by the Town Council to trustees, as in St Andrews in 1831, where by the munificence of Dr Bell the Madras College took the place of the grammar school[3]. The case of Leith High School in 1835 is very similar.

We cannot but admire the zeal shown by the municipal authorities for the promotion of education from the Reformation to the Union in 1707. It is true that a number of subjects, now regarded as essential branches, had either no place or a very subordinate one in school curricula. It cannot be said that in any true sense arithmetic formed an element in education till near the end of the 17th century. The same may be said of

[1] *Burgh Records of Ayr, Kinghorn and St Andrews.*
[2] *Burgh Records of Crail.*
[3] *Burgh Records of St Andrews.*

mathematics, navigation, science and book-keeping. The places where arithmetic was first recognised as part of the curriculum are Aberdeen, Irvine, Wigtown, Dunbar and Stirling. The earliest notice of mathematics is in Glasgow in 1660[1]. There is no further mention of it till the next century is reached. Geography was not a branch of school work till the beginning of the 18th century. It is first mentioned in Edinburgh High School in 1715, and not in Aberdeen Grammar School till 1834[2]. It was taught to some extent in a number of the smaller grammar schools. In 1732 we find the council of Stirling ordering "two geograficall maps to be put up in the grammar school for the edification of the youth, the expense not exceeding £24 Scots[3]." Such expensive material must have been largely prohibitive of its general introduction.

About the middle of the 18th century there was in many quarters a desire for schools with a more liberal and practical curriculum than that in use in the old grammar schools. "Academies" was the name chosen for such institutions. They were meant to supplement grammar schools by introducing commercial and science subjects, but in many cases they superseded them or became their rivals. Perth has the honour of being the oldest academy in Scotland. It was founded in 1760. In less than thirty years Dundee and Inverness followed the example, and a year or two thereafter Elgin, Fortrose, and Ayr had each their academy, all with a very advanced curriculum. That of Perth is surprisingly complete. Languages are not mentioned, the grammar school and academy being separate. Being the most ambitious and at the same time typical of the rest, its curriculum is probably worth giving in detail. "It consisted of the higher branches of arithmetic, mathematical, physical and political geography, logic, and the principles of composition; algebra, including the theory of equations and the differential calculus, the first six books of Euclid; plane and spherical trigonometry; mensuration of surfaces and solids, navigation, fortification,

[1] *Burgh Records of Glasgow.*

[2] *Burgh Records of Aberdeen.*

[3] *Burgh Records of Stirling.* This would be about £2 sterling. They would not be much cheaper now, but money was very scarce in Scotland then, and its value very much higher.

analytical geometry, and conic sections; natural philosophy, consisting of statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics and astronomy; and subsequently chemistry was added, consisting of heat, light, including spectrum analysis, chemical affinity, laws of combining proportion, atomic theory, nomenclature, and notation, the gases, acids, alkalies, &c.[1]"

While one may reasonably suspect that a curriculum like the above was in many respects showy rather than substantial, and that a number of the subjects were probably either not taken up, or touched with a light hand, it is matter for surprise and of good omen that a programme, which would do credit to a fully equipped science school of the 20th century, was even sketched as being within the reach of the ambitious lad of nearly 150 years ago.

Acting of plays was encouraged by Town Councils to promote elocution and confidence in public speaking. This was the case in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Perth. It has probably disappeared from the list of school subjects owing to the discovery that modern Town Councillors' confidence in public speaking stands in no need of stimulation. Early in the 18th century it had come under the ban of the Church, such plays as *George Barnwell* being thought to have an immoral tendency[2]. In the Kirk Session records of Perth we find an overture in serious condemnation of lascivious songs, dancings and stage plays.

As these schools were usually established by voluntary subscriptions their constitution was largely proprietary. This was not so in Perth where the patronage was always in the hands of the Town Council. In others such as Elgin, Inverness, Tain, Dundee, Arbroath, Ayr, Kilmarnock, Irvine, Dumbarton, Paisley, Greenock, Dumfries, &c. the directorate varied. In almost all cases the Town Council were represented, and with

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 119. "This Academy has in a large degree carried out the original intention; chemistry has been taught in it during the last seventy years, natural philosophy in all its branches, at least a hundred years, and the elements of geology and botany about thirty years, so that the claim of Perth to the honour of having been the first burgh school in Scotland to introduce science classes into our public schools is well founded": *Conference on Education*, p. 29.

[2] Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, III, 584.

them were associated in different places the subscribers, burgesses, sheriffs, heritors, &c.

At the passing of the Reform Act there were upwards of forty schools of an advanced type, variously described as grammar schools, burgh schools, or academies, which were managed by Town Councils as to appointment of masters, fees, &c.[1] The Commissioners appointed in 1867 to enquire into burgh schools report that in seventy-six burghs there were eighty-two schools[2], and that in forty burghs there were no High schools but only parochial or other schools, and that there were nine schools jointly burgh and parochial. The schools of 1867, if we may judge from their names, appear to be largely but not entirely the successors or survivals of those at the time of the Reform Act. On the assumption that the list is fairly complete, the western highlands and the north fare badly, the former being represented by Inverary and Campbeltown, while north of Inverness there are only Tain and Kirkwall.

The prohibition against sending children over six years of age to any but the public school continued generally till the middle of the 18th century, but was only partially effective, notwithstanding that fines were imposed on parents who did so, and that banishment was in some cases threatened as the penalty for setting up a private school[3]. That private schools existed in considerable numbers warrants two inferences, that people set a high value on education, and that the public schools were often either inefficient or too expensive for the limited means of the poor[4].

Towards the end of the century many Councils not only tolerated but encouraged private schools by money payments[5].

In the 18th and 19th centuries the school day was much shorter than formerly. While a few stuck by the old tradition

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, pp. 98—99.

[2] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, p. lxx.

[3] *Burgh Records of Banff.*

[4] To make their prohibition effective the Dunfermline Town Council compelled the kirk session to pay to the master of the grammar school the money set apart for teaching the poor. The session however decided to give something out of the 'box' to the teacher of a private school. Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 138.

[5] *Burgh Records of Montrose, Stirling, Forfar, Ayr.*

of eight or ten hours, in the majority of cases five or six were thought sufficient.

With respect to the length of ordinary or autumn holidays the practice varied greatly, ranging from two or three to five weeks in different districts. The variation was quite as great in respect of the season of the year regarded as the most suitable time. The same time was not equally suitable for town and country. Perth Town Council, finding that the end of August or beginning of September was bad, because they are the period of "green fruit and pease which do occasion diseases," authorised the masters to give vacation from the middle of May to the middle of June. June seems to have been on the whole the favourite month. The Rector of the Grammar School of Ayr gives in 1748 his reason for the preference, that May is generally cold, and the fields wear a winterly face; further that it is the month when birds build their nests, and bird-nesting leads boys into danger; and again, some scholars go to Arran or other distant places for goat milk, and seldom return till the fair week[1].

In country districts the presentation to the master of a ripe ear of corn settled the time for the vacation.

In early times, as now, school discipline was as multiform as human nature. There were, however, several general rules of universal application, observance of which was as far as possible insisted on—morning prayer, cleanliness, well-combed hair, neatness in clothing, and general obedience. These were enjoined as positive duties. The faults to be avoided were falsehood, swearing, indecency, Sabbath-breaking, and speaking the vernacular. Locality also entered into the question. The Dundee boy was forbidden to frequent the shore, the Edinburgh boy was warned against the precipitous portions of the Calton Hill.

For the maintenance of discipline the methods were as various as the character and ingenuity of the teacher.

With regard to punishments we find an absence of definition as to method and extent. One master is instructed to punish "as he may think fit," another is to do so "according to the quality of the fault" or "at his discretion." In other cases the definition is

[1] *Burgh Records of Ayr.*

more complete, but still somewhat imperfect, when it is ordained that swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and rebellious disobedience are to be punished for the first offence by public whipping, for the second by flogging, and for the third by expulsion from the school. The difference between whipping and flogging is not quite clear.

About two hundred years ago the Town Council of Dunbar were ahead of their age in thinking that discipline was best where the flagellation was least, that the rod should be spared as long as possible, but when admonition, warning, and threats fail, the master was not to "spare the child for his much crying." The master is instructed, when admonition, censure, and threats are of no avail, to make it clear to the culprits that he dislikes corporal punishment and is not in a passion. When he has made this clear, he may then punish them beneficially.

The times and methods of punishments, and the means of detection of offences were duly systematised, though with variations in different districts. In some cases the infliction was daily, in others weekly, and in others monthly. It was thought, and probably with good reason, that chastisement would lose much of its salutary effect, when it was administered to a numerous body of defaulters, who would be tempted to minimise the gravity of their offences by feeling that others were in the same condemnation, or to imitate "puny souls who feeling pain find ease because another feels it too." The records bear that in some cases the schoolmaster was charged with the duty of punishing not only for school, but also for home offences. Protests against this were made by teachers on the ground that the school is a place for education, not a place of flagellation, that it is the duty of parents to make their children like school, and that by transferring to the teacher the duty of punishing for offences committed at home they make them dislike school and everything connected with it.

In the maintenance of discipline the teacher in Aberdeen grammar school was aided by *decuriones* and *censors*. The former were in some sort pupil teachers, chosen from the highest class, and had each charge of six scholars for whose discipline, conduct, and, to a certain extent, education, he was

responsible. How long and with what success this method was carried out is not known, but it is quite possible that under judicious supervision it may have been good. The same cannot be said of the duties of the censor which were those of a detective officer. He had to superintend the several factions under the charge of the decuriones, and make out a list of all who spoke their mother tongue, swore, or broke rules of discipline. This list he handed to the master, a practice which must have given rise to ill-feeling among the other pupils against the poor boy to whom this duty was assigned.

This aid to discipline was in use in many parish schools up to the middle of the 19th century, and had the effect described. It supplied to a malicious censor a means of petty persecution of any schoolfellow whom he disliked. He knew that any denial of misdemeanour by the accused would be outweighed by his authoritative accusation. This duty of informer legalised what is universally despised as one of the meanest and most sneaking characteristics whether of boy or man—that of betraying the delinquencies of comrades to those who have power to punish. The system of praepostors, prefects, and fagging in modern English schools is suggested by this reference to the discipline in Aberdeen in the 17th century, but into this *quaestio vexata* it is not necessary to enter.

Though severe punishments were more common in these early times than now, the matter was one over which the Council generally exercised supervision. Undue severity made the master liable either to removal from office, or after investigation, to censure, with injunction against future action of the same kind. If on investigation it was found that parents complained without cause they were fined or censured.

In 1869 a bill was introduced in the House of Lords providing that nothing but the birch-rod should be used as an instrument of punishment, but it was thrown out. In old times whipping was thought indispensable, and instinct with a mysterious virtue even when vicariously administered.

While it was little short of sacrilege to visit with a birch the royal cuticle for school faults, still whipping had to follow fault as certainly as night the day, and be borne by Sir David Lindsay

of the Mount who was the whipping boy to James IV, just as William Murray, father of the Countess of Dysart, was whipping boy to Charles I.

Dr Parr of Norwich School had boundless faith in the birch. An under-master told him one day that a certain pupil appeared to show signs of genius. "Say you so?" said Parr, "then begin to flog him to-morrow morning."

Flogging is still an institution at Eton, but within more reasonable bounds. Dr Keate, a former Headmaster of Eton and a most distinguished flogger, was called upon by a boy who came to take leave. "You seem to know me very well," said the master, "I have no remembrance of ever having seen you before." "You were better acquainted with my other end," was the unblushing reply[1].

When this is contrasted with the case of Dr Melvin of Aberdeen Grammar School and an offending pupil, there will be a general agreement with the opinion of the Town Council of Dunbar above mentioned.

A boy guilty of a serious offence was called up for punishment. "James," said the Doctor, "I'm going to punish you, and you must be a very bad boy, for I have not punished a boy for seven years, but I must punish you to-day." After a few remarks, firm but kindly, about the nature of the offence, he opened his desk and took out the tawse, that had been lying with the dust of seven years upon it, and said, "James, hold out your hand." James obeyed, and the Doctor, grasping the instrument of torture, and raising it aloft, brought it down very very slowly, and with the lightness of a feather touched James's palm. "Now James go to your seat." James went, laid his head on his desk and cried as if his heart would break. He had not been hardened by the daily contemplation of flogging and he felt there was contamination in the very touch of the tawse. Perhaps none but a strong man could rise to this height of discipline, but weaker men might take it as an example, and probably the strength would come.

The earliest record of competition for prizes is found in connection with Glasgow Grammar School near the end of the 16th century. Except in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and a few

[1] *History of the Rod*, p. 438.

other schools, prizes were not in use before the 18th century. Opinions are somewhat divided as to the expediency of the practice, but it is now generally favoured as being a healthy stimulus to industry, and is almost universally in use.

We have satisfactory evidence that throughout the 18th century municipal authorities generally acted with honesty and earnestness in their appointment of teachers when examination was the test; that merit and not influence was, as a rule, the determining factor. In many cases the Councils, not being "altogether skilful of the Latin and Greek languages," applied to the presbytery for help[1]. The minister, the presbytery, or university professors were applied to and lent their aid in the examination which preceded appointment. That the examination was sufficiently testing at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century seems beyond question. In 1771 the candidates for the mastership of Ayr Academy were tested as to their soundness in grammar, by literal translation of advanced Latin and Greek authors, and translation of English into Latin; and as to their knowledge of English, by a free translation of the same authors[2]. Much the same test was applied in 1815, when a master was appointed to the Elgin Academy.

The importance attached to music is shown by the candidate in some cases being asked to sing "a tune of music."

There were however other modes of making appointments.

In some cases they were made on the strength of testimonials and recommendations. The universities, famous scholars, or persons on whose judgment reliance could be placed, were asked to recommend suitable candidates[3]. These recommendations were carefully weighed in deciding between rival claims. Other appointments were made after probation. A candidate presumably qualified was allowed to "enter the school for ane tryall of a few months," after which if he gave satisfaction he was appointed[4].

[1] The examining body was sometimes rather heterogeneous, and presumably not exactly fitted to estimate scholarly attainments,—a minister, a preacher, a beadle, and a tobacconist. *Burgh Records of Dunfermline.*

[2] *Burgh Records of Ayr.*

[3] *Burgh Records of Burntisland, St Andrews, Montrose, Kirkcudbright, Crail, Dundee, &c.*

[4] *Burgh Records of Ayr, Banff, Crail.*

In yet other cases a deputation was appointed to visit the candidate who had been recommended, to see him teach, and form an estimate of his qualifications[1]. A master was seldom appointed by correspondence alone. Personal knowledge was almost invariably a requisite[2]. The ceremony which accompanied the admission to office has been already described.

As to tenure of office it appears from Mr Grant's careful statistics that from the Reformation to the end of the 18th century 109 appointments were made for a definite period, 69 appointments during pleasure of Town Councils, 49 appointments *ad vitam aut culpam*, 22 appointments during good behaviour and at will. This last group may be fairly regarded as life appointments.

"The nature of the tenure was not more different in the different burghs than even in the same burghs[3]." The variation was doubtless regulated by the estimate formed of the qualifications of the candidates and the business capacity of the Council[4].

Up to the beginning of the 19th century the office of burgh school teacher was not regarded as a *munus publicum* by either Councils or teachers. The teacher was simply an ordinary servant with whom a contract was made, the terms of which required to be observed. The question was first raised in Montrose in 1709. The court of session ordained that the Council should state rational grounds for their dissatisfaction in order that the court might consider whether the teacher should be dismissed. In this decision tenure *ad vitam aut culpam* is implied.

In 1815 Lord Meadowbank in agreement with Lord Robertson held that teachers cannot make a bargain that will

[1] *Burgh Records of Dysart, Glasgow, Stirling, Forfar, Peebles, &c.*

[2] *Burgh Records of Paisley, Stirling.*

[3] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, pp. 257—8.

[4] In 1785 two joint teachers were appointed to Dumbarton Grammar School for a year, in 1786 for another year, in 1787 for two years, and in 1789 for two years, the Town Council being of opinion "that it is much to be desired that a short agreement should be made in order that the Council should be fully satisfied with their diligence and behaviour." *Burgh Records of Dumbarton.* A good specimen of Scottish caution: but after four years' trial such caution seems to reflect either on the character of the teachers as being questionable, or on the Council as weak and lacking decision.

deprive them of this tenure[1]. In 1867 the opinion of counsel was given that a contract on other terms would be illegal[2].

It is impossible to say that the question, despite the many times it had been raised, was definitely decided. The presumption of law, however, in respect of burgh schools, and, to a less extent, of academies and high schools, was in favour of a tenure *ad vitam aut culpam.*

By the education act of 1872 the tenure of office by teachers of burgh and parochial schools appointed after the passing of the act is "during the pleasure of the school board." For those previously appointed there is no change.

Up to the end of the 17th century signature to the Confession of Faith was one of the conditions of appointment. With the 18th century it practically ceased to be obligatory. During the first sixty years of the 19th century the recorded instances of signature are less than twenty. In 1861 it was enacted that it was no longer necessary for burgh school teachers to sign the Confession, or to be members of the Established Church[3]. But even before that time membership of the Established Church had in practice fallen into disuse. Of 113 burgh school teachers in 1861 only 50 were members of the Church of Scotland. We have here satisfactory evidence of a steadily growing liberality of spirit in matters ecclesiastical. We find much the same spirit in matters political. In 1690 all teachers were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown[4]. There are very few instances of political disability and consequent removal from office during the 17th and 18th centuries[5].

Though no statutory provision was made for retiring allowances, it was not unusual to grant pensions for long and faithful

[1] Shaw's *Cases*, XIV, 715, note.

[2] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, 229.

[3] Act 24 and 25 Victoria c. 107, § 22.

[4] Act 1690, c. 25, IX, 163.

[5] *History of the Rod*, p. 183. A Glasgow teacher was put in the pillory for seducing soldiers to desert. *Burgh Records of Dundee.* A Dundee teacher was removed for joining preachers who prayed expressly for the Pretender as King James VIII. *Presbytery Records of Chanonry.* A Fortrose teacher in 1746 was found "utterly unqualified as teacher of youth" for encouraging his scholars to make a bonfire in honour of the Pretender, and writing on their copies "Honour to Prince Charlie."

services[1]. Other ways in which faithful services were rewarded have already been referred to.

We have a striking proof of the change in the value of money in the fact that not far from the beginning of the 19th century, thirty-five years of faithful service was thought to be sufficiently rewarded by a pension of £10 to a man "far advanced in years and unable to be employed elsewhere[2]." Pensions though often given were often refused. In a large number of important and successful grammar schools no regulations for granting annuities were made. The *ad vitam aut culpam* tenure added both dignity and security to the office. It is matter for regret that nothing satisfactory has been done to compensate for its abolition. Regulations in this direction would be in two ways beneficial, first, in freeing from the charge of harshness the removal of worn-out teachers, and secondly in raising the standard of education.

At the beginning of the 18th century the highest class in important grammar schools read Terence, Horace, Virgil, Juvenal, Cicero, Livy, Florus, Sallust, &c.; the lower classes Ovid, Velleius Paterculus, Nepos, Claudian, Curtius, Phædrus, the Colloquia of Corderius, Erasmus, and the lowest class the Vocables of Wedderburne. In some schools the highest class learned rhetoric and "had exercises in orations, compositions, versions, and verse according to their gifts[3]." As we approach the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century Corderius, Despauter, and other grammatical works had disappeared from the lists of school books, and classical study was substantially the same as in modern schools.

Whatever view may be taken of the vexed question as to the date at which Greek was first taught in Scotland, it is safe to say that the amount of Greek teaching in the 16th century was very small. It is however unquestionable that provision was made for it as a school subject in the 17th and

[1] *Burgh Records of Ayr.* In 1746 the Council agree to pay to the teacher who had given nearly 50 years' service and was now "aged, valetudinary, and tender, his yearly salary during the short time he may now live." It is not uncharitable to infer from the terms of the grant that their liberality received some stimulus from a belief that he would not trouble them long.

[2] *Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.*

[3] Chalmer's *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 88, 90.

18th centuries, but of the extent to which it was taught we have little clear evidence. Several facts go to show that it had not then taken a deep hold in the most important schools. In the list of books used in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen no Greek text-books are found[1]. Boswell[2] and Lord Monboddo in his letters refer to the lack of Greek scholarship in Scotland in the 18th century and old Scottish libraries and booksellers' catalogues contain no valuable Greek books. It is exceedingly difficult and apparently impossible to reconcile conflicting accounts on this subject. In Steven's *High School of Edinburgh* (p. 48) we are told that "a fifth class was established in the High School in 1614, and the scholars, during their attendance on it, were taught the *rudiments* of the Greek language," and (p. 205) again that in 1820 a master of the High School wrote a private letter to the patrons "containing the sketch of a plan for the establishment of a Greek class in the High School. With the exception of an endowment of a medal by the Town Council in 1814, this was the first time that the Greek language was authoritatively recognised as forming part of the study in the High School." Greek however, though not authoritatively established, had not been neglected, for Steven quotes in an appendix (p. 336) under date 1822 a most creditable specimen of Greek verse by one of his pupils. Again we find in the *Burgh Records of Greenock* that a committee deputed to visit Irvine Academy reported that "a class of lads most of whom were not employed beyond twelve months upon Greek, had read several prose authors, and made such progress in Homer, that they could translate readily the first six books of the *Iliad* and the New Testament Epistles and Evangelists *ad aperturam libri*." This must be taken with a grain of salt, and be classed with the unconfirmed tradition of John Row's teaching of Hebrew in Perth Grammar School in 1632.

We learn from the Report of the Endowed Schools Commission that in 1872 Greek was taught in about 30 schools, one half of them reaching as high as Xenophon, the other half covering such

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, 347.
[2] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 637, chap. LXIX, 1860 ed.

authors as Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato[1].

From the Report on Burgh Schools in 1868 we find that in schools in which there was a combination of elementary and higher education, only 3 per cent. learned Greek, and 21 per cent. Latin, and that instruction in classics in 69 schools visited, public, private, and mixed elementary, was in 29 per cent. good, 25 per cent. fair, 31 per cent. indifferent, and 15 per cent. bad[2]. The duration of the curriculum varied to some extent in different districts in the 17th and 18th centuries, but generally it extended to five years. In the 19th century the variation was greater but in few cases was it longer than six years.

We have seen above that at the Reformation the teaching of Music lost much of its prominence. During the greatest part of the 18th century efforts only moderately successful were in different places made to revive it. During the first half of the 19th century it revived considerably in the ordinary schools, and since the Act of 1872 it has received more and steadily increasing attention in these schools, but in the Report on Burgh Schools in 1868 it was taught in only eight out of fifty-four schools[3].

The teaching of English in the new or modern way began to be asked for in most of the grammar schools about the middle of the 18th century. English as a department was not in the curriculum of grammar schools till near our own day. It is now taught in them all.

French alone of modern foreign languages was pretty generally taught in important grammar schools from early in the 18th century except in Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray. The explanation of this probably is that in these three counties which furnished the largest contingent of candidates for the bursary competition in Aberdeen University, the importance of Latin was so great as to exclude the study of any foreign language. About the middle of the 19th century German was taught in most of the higher-class public schools[4].

[1] *Report on Endowed Schools*, II, 341—602.
[2] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, 109—113.
[3] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, 254, 255.
[4] *Report of Board of Education*, II, 154, 1874.

Drawing and painting were taught in a few burgh schools, and navigation in the schools of seaboard towns. Smatterings of physical and natural science were taught in 1868 to about 5 per cent. of all the pupils in 54 burgh schools[1].

From the earliest times till 1872, when it became optional, the tradition of religious instruction as an essential school subject was maintained, and Sunday as mentioned above (pp. 27, 100) was no day of rest[2].

It has already been pointed out that a very small part of the patrimony of the Church was secured for education, and that the few schools which were endowed got little benefit from the endowments owing to dilapidations and perversions of the sums mortified. In these circumstances the behaviour of magistrates and councils towards higher education is worthy of all praise. Till the passing of the Act of 1872 their contributions from the common property of the burgh were entirely voluntary, and were given in a liberal and patriotic spirit. In many cases the financial condition of the town's exchequer was far from satisfactory, but in very few instances did this voluntary contribution to the teacher's salary fail to be paid. Nor was their zeal for the good of the school confined to such payment. Care in the management of its concerns and anxiety for its success characterised their action generally.

It is not contended that there were not then as now varying degrees of liberality in councils, but it must be remembered that the common good was often small, that money was scarce, and that teachers were not of uniform merit in respect of industry and skill. It was an unfortunate position, whether it arose from the parsimony of the councils or the apathy of the teacher, when in 1789 the latter was content to take charge of a school without salary, and on condition of receiving such a gratuity as the council might think he deserved[3].

Notwithstanding these efforts there were cases in which the common good was exhausted, and stentmasters were appointed to raise the amount of the teacher's salary. Throughout the

[1] *Report on Burgh Schools*, I, 124.
[2] *Burgh Records of Edinburgh and Peebles.*
[3] *Burgh Records of Greenock.*

18th century the Burgh Records in many parts of the country contain complaints of the salaries being insufficient to "buy the necessaries of life" on account of the high price of all kinds of provisions, and in rare cases the school was declared vacant.

In 1839 primary schools on the one hand, and universities on the other, were in receipt of public money voted by Parliament on lines and for purposes to which no objection could be taken, but burgh schools, which were the main avenue of approach to the universities, were left to struggle on as best they could without parliamentary aid.

The struggle was often very severe. It is difficult to speak too highly of the efforts made by councils and benevolent persons all over Scotland to secure that the poor should receive as much education as they were fit for[1]. The fees fixed by the councils were such as to make the schools accessible to children of the lower class, and the very poor were educated *gratis*, the councils paying to the teacher sums of various amount in return for such exemption from fees. To make up for necessarily small salaries a house, coal, and peats were often provided, and payment in kind was sometimes resorted to.

In the 18th century school buildings were generally unsatisfactory from both educational and sanitary points of view[2]. Many were damp and had no fireplaces. Sometimes the vestry and session house did duty for the school[3]. In some cases there were no desks, the pupils being obliged to "write on the floor lying on their bellies[4]." In others there was only one room in which all branches were taught, and so small that soon pupils could not be admitted[5]. The buildings, such as they were, were erected and upheld from the Common Good where any was available. If it was exhausted, resort was had to voluntary contributions, subscriptions, taxation, and sometimes to forced

[1] *Report on Endowed Schools, passim.*

[2] *Burgh Records of Dumbarton.*

[3] *Burgh Records of Selkirk.*

[4] *Burgh Records of St Andrews.* This probably means that they wrote on sand on the floor. At Dennington, Suffolk, there is shown a sand trough which was used for this purpose till 70 or 80 years ago by a nonagenarian who still survives.

[5] *Burgh Records of Forfar.*

labour. Some uncouth but fairly descriptive verses by a schoolmaster throw light on this state of matters[1].

This indifferent equipment of burgh schools in respect of buildings and furniture continued till well past the middle of the last century. The commissioners of 1868, in their report of fifty-four schools visited, class only nineteen as good, fourteen as fair, and the rest as indifferent or bad. Since the passing of the Act of 1872 it may be said that generally the requirements have been met, and in some cases with very liberal aid from the Scotch Education Department.

Playgrounds in most cases had received little attention, church-yards being occasionally put to this use[2]. This also has been largely remedied.

Near the end of the 17th century there was sown by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh one of the first seeds of a plant whose fruit was to find its way into every quarter of the civilised world. It had an exceedingly modest beginning—an annuity of four hundred merks for the maintenance and education of four girls, the daughters of decayed merchant burgesses of Edinburgh. This germ was planted in 1695, and was probably suggested by the noble foundation of George Heriot's Trustees who, sixty-seven years earlier, had commenced to make a similar provision for boys. It was called the Merchant Maiden Hospital. Heriot's Hospital had been founded in 1628 and opened in 1659, when thirty boys were elected according to the original purpose of the foundation. After a lapse of nearly thirty years George Watson, who had been its treasurer,

[1] *Burgh Records of Wigtown.* The 'dominie' complains of delay. Though

Every one did promise well
To come for to rear up the school;
The day appointed had some frost;
They all keep't home their shins to rost.

But afterwards,

Then every one came with a tool
And timber to rear up the school.
They wrought like mad till night did come;
When it was dark they all went home.
They hastily again did meet
And did put up the house compleat.

[2] *Burgh Records of Forfar.*

left funds for the foundation of a Hospital for the sons of decayed merchants, the administration of which he put into the hands of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, as being a company whose establishment by royal grant was ratified by Parliament. The bequest was accompanied by the suggestion that its rules and management should be, as near as possible, the same as those of the Merchant Maiden and Heriot's. In 1797 James Gillespie, influenced by the successful management by the Merchant Company of their two Hospitals, left that company funds for building and endowing a free school for one hundred poor boys. No addition was made to the number of the company's schools for about sixty years, when Daniel Stewart in his will of date 1811 left to the sole management of the Merchant Company funds which with accumulated interest amounted in 1860 to £79,000. This was employed for the foundation of a Hospital which was to be based as nearly as possible on George Watson's as a model.

As strictly belonging to our third period reference must be made to the beneficent establishment of thirteen Foundation Schools, offering from surplus Heriot revenue free education to the children of poor burgesses and freemen, and to all who chose to take advantage of the offer. This received the hearty approval of the Merchant Company. These free schools were maintained till the establishment of free education by the Scotch Education Department made them unnecessary.

As belonging to this period it may be stated that in 1847 George Watson's Hospital had 86 pupils, and that, having room for more, the admission of day pupils was proposed. A bill with this aim was thrown out by the House of Lords. It was again introduced in 1852, and passed.

The subsequent successful history of these institutions belongs more to our fourth period, where they will be dealt with.

Though higher-class schools are here being discussed, it is not wholly irrelevant to remark that there is no country in the world where elementary and higher education have been separated by so thin a line as in the best class of Scottish parish schools; no country in which what are above described as mixed

elementary schools have had, except in the 18th century, such an unbroken and successful existence; where under one roof and under the management of a single master boys of ability have found the gap between school and university so satisfactorily bridged. It is strictly in keeping with this account of a parish school that in the Act of 1872 the word 'elementary' is not found within its four corners, and that in its preamble the aim is stated to be that "efficient education may be furnished and made available to the *whole* people of Scotland."

For more than a century and a half from 1696 this aim, though not everywhere, was to such an extent attained as, in the face of poverty and political turmoil, to place Scotland in the van of educated nations. Poverty, war, and political strife were not the only hindrances to progress. One of the most serious, though fortunately short-lived, was the introduction of the Revised Code in 1860 which, by making a fetish of high per-centage of pass in the "beggarly elements," to the exclusion of everything else, retarded the advance of higher education for at least ten or twelve years. The low level of the English elementary school was the starting-point of the new scheme, and the result was to a great extent the lowering of Scottish instead of the raising of English education. Great credit is due to many teachers, especially in Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, who refused to make cent. per cent. of passes in the three R's the goal of their ambition. Relief from this temptation came with the passing of the Act of 1872, and two years thereafter a separate Scottish code. But for many years afterwards the less intelligent School-boards looked upon cent. per cent., or something near it, as a *sine qua non* and worried the teacher accordingly.

This is perhaps as suitable a place as any other for reference to an important educational body which belongs to both our third and fourth periods.

The Educational Institute of Scotland had its origin at a general meeting of the teachers of Scotland held in 1847. Its aims were to "ascertain and certify the qualifications of those intending to enter the office of teacher" and thereby to increase their efficiency, to improve their condition, and to raise the

standard of Education in general. The Institute professed its deep sense of the supreme importance of the religious training of the young, but wisely resolved to grant "certification to teachers" without inquiring into the doctrinal opinions they held. In four years the membership had grown to 1800, and the Institute was granted in 1851 a Royal Charter of Incorporation empowering it to hold heritable property, to use a common seal, to divide its members into Local Associations, to appoint a Board of Examiners, and to grant diplomas or certificates to Fellows, Senior Associates and Junior Associates. Membership is open to all classes of teachers. Of its sixty-three Presidents, three were University Professors, the remainder were almost equally divided between teachers in secondary and teachers in primary schools. In the list of its Honorary Fellows occur the names of Principal Caird, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Dr Andrew Carnegie. The columns of its official organ, *The Educational News*, are devoted to Secondary, Intermediate and Primary Education alike.

There are two other spheres of the Institute's activity which were probably not contemplated by its founders,—a thriving Benevolent Fund established to give temporary relief to "needy members, to widows, or to dependents of members," and a Parliamentary Committee annually appointed to "organise and utilise its electoral strength."

In recent years the membership of the Institute has increased by leaps and bounds to close on twelve thousand, divided into fifty-two Local Associations.

CHAPTER XIII

THIRD PERIOD. S.P.C.K. SCHOOLS

JOHN KNOX'S proposal of a school in every parish was not carried out till long after his death, and in many parts of the Highlands and Islands never carried out at all. Their remoteness, barrenness of soil, and their language were hindrances additional to those felt elsewhere in Scotland. Hence we find that in 1616 "the King's Majestie with advise of the Lords of his Secret Council, thought it necessar and expedient, that, in every paroch of this Kingdom, quhair convenient means may be had for intertayning a scoole that a scoole sall be established." This Act of the Privy Council was confirmed, but it contained a most distasteful enactment, viz. that the "Irishe language (Gaelic) which is one of the chieff causes of the continuance of barbaritie and incivilitie among the inhabitants of the Isles and Highlandes should be abolished." It is not matter for surprise that the Highlanders were slow to carry out the provisions of an Act which proposed to abolish their language, to which they were strongly attached. Funds besides were sadly wanting. Notwithstanding Acts of Parliament and the efforts of the General Assembly of the Church to improve the position of both ministers and teachers, the condition of the Highlands and Islands in 1696 was a very unhappy one in respect of both churches and schools. To remedy this, a number of gentlemen of philanthropic and Christian character resolved at the beginning of the 18th century to establish a fund for founding schools in those districts where there were as yet no parish schools. Royal favour was extended to their efforts, and intimation was

given of an intention on the part of the Crown to erect the subscribers, the first of whom was the Countess of Sutherland, by letters-patent into a body corporate to be named the "Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland." The first Patent was granted in 1709. By it the first nomination of members was made by the Lords of Council and Session out of the subscribers. The number of members was 82, 9 being peers, 14 Lords of Council, 21 ministers, the rest of different professions. In the Patent it is laid down that the members must be Protestants, not necessarily Presbyterians. Indeed the majority of the London members were Episcopalians. Though the Society was greatly aided by the General Assembly of the Church, who appointed a select committee to ascertain where schools were most urgently required, it is quite clear that the movement originated not with the General Assembly but with private individuals who thought that the ignorance and superstition of the Highlands demanded attention. The connection between the two bodies was close, continuous, and beneficent, but it rested not on legal enactment, but on grounds of mutual confidence and co-operation. The Assembly enjoined on their Presbyteries the duty of enquiry as to the need for churches, missionaries and catechists, and of periodically examining their schools and reporting on their condition to the Secretary of the Society.

To all applications by the Society for assistance from the ministers of remote parishes in the superintendence of schools the General Assembly lent a willing ear, and strictly enjoined the several Presbyteries to make exact enquiry into the manner of life and conversation of those who offered their services as teachers, and to report to the Secretary of the Society, not to the Commission of the General Assembly. With the application of the fund, its mode of management, and the regulations of the schools, they in no way interfered.

The practice of the Society in reference to teachers, catechists, and missionaries has been absolutely uniform. All have been members of the Established Church. The teachers were tried and examined by the five clerical directors, and none could be appointed except such as had been certified by the judica-

tories of the Church. Similarly the catechists were necessarily members of the Established Church, their duty being to co-operate with the minister of the parish, and the missionaries were all either ordained ministers or licentiates of the Established Church. Any of the three separating himself from the Church was dismissed.

While the charity of the Society began at home it did not end there. The spread of Christianity among heathen nations came within the scope of their operations, and a Board of Correspondents was established in London.

The capital of the Society in 1708 was £1000, and when in 1711 it amounted to £3700, itinerant teachers were appointed in the most necessitous places in Scotland such as St Kilda, Sutherland, Caithness, and other parts of the Highlands where there was either no parish school or where, owing to the size or character of the district, one school was completely insufficient. The teacher's emoluments ranged from 300 to 150 merks (about £16 to £8) according to circumstances. Schools and teacher's houses together with Bibles and Catechisms were supplied. Interest in the movement steadily increased, the proprietors in many of the districts lending their aid. Four years more saw the capital raised to over £6000.

By an Act passed in the first year of George I a Royal Commission was appointed to lay before his Majesty an account of the proper places for schools and the proper salaries for the maintenance of teachers. The Commission reported that 151 schools, in addition to those already existing, were required, and that £20 was a sufficient salary. This sum was a fond imagination and was never realised.

In the sixth year of his reign another Act was passed which provided that £20,000 of the amount realised by the sale of Scottish estates forfeited after the rebellion should be applied towards the making of a capital stock for erecting and maintaining schools in the Highlands. In spite of repeated appeals from 1720 to 1728 to members of both Houses of Parliament, to Barons of the Exchequer, and the King himself, no part of this money has ever been received by the Society. In 1725 his Majesty gave a donation of £1000 to the General Assembly of the

Church of Scotland "to be employed for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands and other places where popery and ignorance abound." This donation was placed under the control of a committee of the Assembly, has been continued by all the King's successors, and been used in co-operation with the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge. Though they failed in their efforts to obtain this £20,000, which they could have turned to excellent account, the Society continued to flourish. Applications were made to the Barons of Exchequer for part of the vacant stipends which had become the property of the Crown, but in vain. Donations however and annual subscriptions were made in sufficient number to enable the Society not only to hold the ground it had acquired, but to widen greatly the field of its operations. It would be tedious to give in detail the advances in prosperity from year to year.

Up to 1738 the main purpose of the schools was instruction in religious knowledge, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The patent under which the Society was incorporated did not empower it to provide instruction in industrial pursuits of any kind. Believing that enlargement of their powers in this direction would tend to encourage habits of industry among the Highlanders, the Society applied for and got a second patent, but resolutions were passed that the purposes of the first patent were not to be neglected or interfered with.

Meanwhile efforts for the prosperity of the Society were in no respect relaxed. The qualifications of the teachers were carefully scrutinised, the schools were regularly visited, a Gaelic and English vocabulary was drawn up, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, the Mother's Catechism, and the New Testament were translated into Gaelic, 10,000 copies of the latter being printed. But yet even in the middle of the 18th century, within the 39 presbyteries in which the Society's schools were established, there were 175 parishes in which there were no parish schools. On this being brought under the notice of the General Assembly, an Act was passed enjoining on these parishes the duty of taking all legal means to have the want supplied. This was followed by a resolution not to erect a school in any parish in which there was no parish school. The Society also suppressed

schools in the neighbourhood of forfeited estates, whose rents had been annexed to the Crown, and nominally appropriated to the maintenance of schools. It was also resolved that "the Society will not establish a charity-school in any parish unless the proprietors of land shall provide a sufficient school-house and schoolmaster's dwelling house, with ground for a kailyard, and grass for a cow, and unless the inhabitants shall furnish and lead *gratis* the peats and turfs necessary for the use of the schoolmaster and his family[1]."

Of the success of the Society's exertions in heathen countries it is not necessary for our purpose to say more than that much Christian effort and considerable funds were expended with very various results. The names of Brainard, Wheelock and Kirkland stand out as conspicuous for their missionary zeal.

Under the second patent, apprenticeships to farmers, smiths, and carpenters do not seem to have come to much among the boys, and among the girls, except in Scripture-reading and teaching, little was done beyond instruction in spinning, knitting, sewing, and the purchase of spinning-wheels. Nearly 100 dames' schools for girls were erected. To some of the teachers of these schools the pronunciation of the long and difficult names of Bible characters presented difficulties which one old woman is said to have overcome by saying to a girl, who stuck fast at a long name about which the teacher herself had doubts, "just ye gang stracht on, Jeanie. Dinna mind hoo ye misca' them. They're a' deid."

Viewed as a business concern the management of the Society was admirable. At the quarterly general meeting in January of each year a president, and committee of 15 directors, and other officials were elected, all men of the highest responsibility and several of noble rank. This committee met on the first Monday of every month. There were three sub-committees, one for matters of law, one for management of accounts, and one for superintendence of schools and correspondence. The proceedings of every meeting were minuted. All accounts after being audited were laid before the whole committee. In short the

[1] *Account of the S.P.C.K.*, 1774, p. 25.

strictest business methods were practised. Teachers were admitted only after examination, and were required to know both English and Gaelic. Their salaries were unfortunately small, hardly ever reaching £20 or a little more, and that only from a special mortification or local donation. Up to 1774 the average was certainly less than £10. The fees probably added little to this.

Notwithstanding the eminently praiseworthy efforts made by the Society, it cannot be said that the account presented in the foregoing pages is not, from some points of view, a gloomy one. There were many parishes in which there were no parish schools, more of a size entirely beyond the management of the most energetic minister, few in which it can be said that the teacher had a fair living wage. The wonder is not that there was at this time much ignorance, but that the lamp was kept burning at all, and that all the natural difficulties of inaccessibility, width of range, tempestuous weather, and stormy seas were overcome to the extent they were. It seems impossible to doubt the genuine missionary and philanthropic motive of the teachers as a whole. Though they were not highly educated[1], how, except on the theory of benevolence and a strong sense of duty, can we account for men and women, of a certain amount of education, in a practically uneducated range of country, devoting themselves to what was doubtless to some, and probably to many, an irksome and miserably paid occupation? The *praefervidum ingenium Scotorum* seems to have been most successfully appealed to in the case of all connected with the movement, which furnishes a grand example of Christian enterprise. The president, secretary, and directors gave their services as a labour of love. The only paid officials were the treasurer who collected and dispensed the revenue, the accountant who kept the account books, and the clerk who conducted the correspondence. These received £25 each per annum, an utterly inadequate payment for the time spent in the discharge of these duties by men of

[1] A worthy man who was being examined by the Society for an appointment was asked how he would explain to a class the passage in the New Testament about the man sick of the palsy who was borne of four, and replied that "he could not explain it, for it always seemed to him to be a 'pheesical impossibility.'"

eminent social position, and with hands full of other important business.

During the latter half of the 18th century the history of the Society is a simple record of steady earnest work and increasing usefulness over a larger field, but presents no features specially noteworthy. In 1781 the capital amounted to £34,000, when the schools numbered 180 with an attendance of 7000 pupils. The teachers' salaries were also somewhat raised.

It is estimated that during the first hundred years of the existence of the Society children to the number of about 300,000 had received education at their hands. The funds were by this time large, but not too large for the demand made upon them by the number and importance of the uses to which they were put. The annual expenditure on teachers, catechists, bursaries for Gaelic students of divinity, superannuation allowance for the aged and infirm, examination charges and translation of religious books into Gaelic was between £4000 and £5000. Unfavourable seasons, small crops, high prices and diminished value of money were difficulties that had to be faced, but in terms of their charter no encroachment on the stock was permitted.

Though so much had been done it was found at the beginning of the 19th century that a large proportion of Highlanders were unable to read their own language. This was felt to be most unsatisfactory. To furnish, if possible, a remedy, the Gaelic Society of Edinburgh was formed in 1811. In the following year the Gaelic Society of Glasgow and in 1818 the Inverness Society followed suit. The Edinburgh Society aimed at teaching the reading of Gaelic exclusively, but the Glasgow and Inverness Societies combined English, writing, and arithmetic, with the reading of Gaelic. These three societies received liberal and distinguished support, and were wholly dependent on voluntary contributions. In 1822 a careful investigation was made as to the condition of the Gaelic districts in respect of education, the possession of copies of the Scriptures, and the extent to which Gaelic was the spoken language of a population of 171 parishes ascertained by the census of 1821 to contain 416,000. More than half of the schedules were returned fully completed, and may be taken as fairly representative of the

whole. They showed that one half of all ages above eight years could not read, that one third of all the families had no copies of the Scriptures, that, excluding Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, Gaelic was the language of three-fourths of the people, that one third of the population were more than two miles distant from a school, and that many thousands had no school nearer than five miles. These figures do not apply to Caithness, Orkney and Shetland where there is no Gaelic, and where education is fairly satisfactory.

The public schools at this time were as under:

Parish schools	171
Society for propagating Christian Knowledge	134
Gaelic Society of Edinburgh	77
„ „ of Glasgow	48
„ „ of Inverness	65
	495[1]

Taking 50 as the probable average attendance we have 24,750 as a full attendance. But with a population of 416,000, at one in eight there ought to be 52,000 for a full attendance, or more than double the actual accommodation.

Whatever doubt may be felt as to the strict accuracy of these figures, the statistical tables accompanying the report make it clear, that comparatively little use was made of the language the people knew best as a means of awakening interest and increasing intelligence, and that there was generally a want of appliances for the promotion of education and religion. Over and over again the remarks which accompany the completed schedules deplore the absence of Gaelic teaching. The Act of the Privy Council in 1616 recommending the abolition of Gaelic as a source of "barbaritie" had been too faithfully carried out, and was still a hindrance to advancement.

In 1821 the salaries of teachers under the first patent averaged about £15, in some cases rising higher through special mortifications or private donations. Salaries under the second patent for teachers of spinning, weaving &c. ranged from £3 and £4 to, in a few cases, £8 and £10.

[1] *Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands*, 1826, p. 28.

The annual expenditure in payment of salaries to teachers, catechists, and missionaries amounted to a little over £4000.

A detailed specimen may be of interest. Subjoined is one for 1843, which may be taken as typical.

150 schools on First Patent	£2358
37 superannuated teachers on First Patent	439
11 missionaries	505
39 catechists	333
102 schools on Second Patent	521
18 superannuated teachers on Second Patent	82
	£4238

After the Disruption in 1843 an extraordinary meeting of the directors was called on June 13th, at which it was resolved that the secretary and agent of the Society should prepare a report on the extent to which the disruption must necessarily affect the operations of the Society. The points to be considered were (1) The origin and constitution of the Society; (2) The kind of connection between it and the Established Church; (3) The practice of the Society in reference to the different classes of individuals employed by them, viz. teachers, catechists, and missionaries.

The report states that no very authentic record has been kept of the formation of the Society. It is a long and carefully drawn document. We cannot give more than a summary of several important points with which it deals.

The opinion of two eminent lawyers—the Lord Advocate Duncan M^cNeill and Andrew Rutherfurd—was taken as to the eligibility of persons other than members of the Established Church for service under the Society. They agreed in recommending a judicial decision and the raising of an action of declarator so shaped as to present for decision all the important points[1]. Mr Rutherfurd gave a separate opinion on points about which he did not concur with the Lord Advocate. The case was taken into the Court of Session where the decision was given that the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge was,

[1] Declarator is a form of action in Scottish law, with a view to the judicial establishment and declaration of a fact.

by its constitution and by the terms of its incorporation, indissolubly associated with the Established Church, and that it was not lawful, nor in the power of the said Society, to appoint teachers, catechists or missionaries who did not belong to the Established Church. This judgment was pronounced in 1846.

In the report for 1847 it will be seen that the directors resolve that a circular be prepared and sent to every teacher and catechist, stating the import and effect of the decision of the Court of Session, and giving them an opportunity of saying whether they do or do not belong to the Established Church. The circular also states that while the directors regret that circumstances cause them to dispense with the services of those disqualified they wish to do so in a kindly spirit, and agree to give half a year's salary to the teachers, missionaries, and catechists.

They also promise in the case of those who, from advanced age or infirmity, are not likely to find other employment, and have a fair claim to a retiring salary, to give all consideration to applications for superannuation allowances. Copies of these resolutions were sent to the minister of every parish where the Society had any branch of their establishment[1].

The vacancies thus caused were soon filled up. In 25 cases where the teachers had become disqualified the buildings were withdrawn from the Society and given to Free Church teachers. Fresh buildings were supplied by other proprietors, and the work of the Society was not seriously interfered with.

The more specially evangelistic field covered by missionaries and catechists at home and abroad, being only incidentally educational, does not fall to be dealt with here. It is perhaps sufficient to say that the reports received by the Society bear that the funds furnished by them were most beneficially employed[2].

In 1848 all salaries below £18 were raised to that sum in schools on the first patent. Those on the second patent were also considerably raised. This, though it involved the suppression of some schools, had become imperative from the higher qualifi-

[1] *Report for* 1847, p. xxx.
[2] *Report for* 1847, pp. xxxiv to xlv.

cations of the candidates who presented themselves, the great destitution that had prevailed for two years, and the decreased purchasing power of money[1].

Between 1843 and 1860 the number of schools was somewhat reduced, some of the ground having been taken up by the Free Church. From the latter date to 1872 there was little change. There was neither relaxation of effort nor reduction of expenditure. The amount set free by the discontinuance of some schools was most properly employed in increasing the salaries of the schools still on the scheme. The annual expenditure was upwards of £5000. The directors having no definite knowledge as to the extent to which, or in what districts, the Act of 1872 would affect their schools, decided not to make any immediate change. In the course of the next eight or ten years the number of schools was greatly reduced. The action taken by the directors, on learning from the opinion of counsel, that it was not competent to continue schools for which adequate provision ought to be made out of the rates, was eminently wise, and productive of excellent results. It belongs to our fourth period, where it will be dealt with.

[1] *Report for* 1848, p. xliii.

CHAPTER XIV

THIRD PERIOD. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SESSIONAL SCHOOLS

THERE is great similarity between the aims of the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge and the General Assembly's committee for "increasing the means of education and religious instruction in Scotland." The former took up the work more than a hundred years before the latter, and had in view almost exclusively the Highlands and Islands, while the latter ultimately took in the whole of Scotland. The two societies were co-operators, not rivals. The enquiry made by the General Assembly as to the extent of necessary effort resulted in the discovery that of the 16 synods of the Church 10, mostly in the south and west, were well supplied with the means of education, and that scarcely any individual was unable to read, but that the other six, viz. Argyle, Glenelg, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, containing 143 parishes, had most urgent need of not less than 250 schools[1].

It is surprising to find Orkney and Shetland mentioned as one of these six synods. In a report on the Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands it is stated that in Orkney and Shetland "education is almost universal[2]."

It is probable that these two groups of islands are wrongly classed as destitute of education. They have had for a long time trade and intercourse, somewhat irregular and infrequent, with the mainland as far south as Leith, and they were not handicapped by having Gaelic as their language, of which they

[1] *General Assembly's Education Reports*, Vol. I, p. 2.

[2] *Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands.* Inverness, 1826, p. 27.

know being Norsemen as little as they know of Chinese. A statement to the effect that the number of uneducated persons in these six synods was deplorably large, accompanied by a circular letter, was sent to every minister in the Church, and brought in most gratifying contributions. In the course of two years the fund amounted to upwards of £5000 from parish collections, donations, and annual subscriptions. Appeals were also made to heritors and others in the districts where schools were needed for the supply of school-house, dwelling-house, garden, fuel, and a cow's grass. The committee were in 1825 ready to make a start.

Teachers were chosen with great care as to qualifications and character. Salaries of £20 or £25 were to be paid, the larger sum to teachers who could give instruction in advanced branches. From this as also from their being permitted to charge the same fees as parish teachers, it is evident that the schools were intended to be of a higher type than those of the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge. In many of them mensuration, mathematics, navigation, and Latin were by and by taught. It was by no means unusual, where from any cause the parish schoolmaster was unsatisfactory, to find the General Assembly or Free Church Sessional School surpassing the parish school in both numbers and efficiency. In the course of the next three years the number of schools established was 35, 70, and 85 respectively. Their unsectarian character is shown by the fact that in South Uist there was a school in which out of 33 pupils all but five were Roman Catholics.

Another evidence of the fairly advanced education is that in 1854 there were 52 teachers who held government certificates, and that in 27 schools pupil teachers were employed. In 1843 the number of schools on the Assembly's list was 146 with 13,000 pupils. In 1848 it was 189 and in 1873 it reached its maximum of 302 ordinary, and 130 sewing schools.

An early start was made in the establishment of school libraries supplied with books of a useful and interesting kind. The stimulation of intelligence resulting from this is referred to in the annual reports in terms of hearty appreciation. Notwithstanding all that had been done during the first ten years of the

existence of the scheme we are informed that "in the Highlands and Islands there are more than 80,000 persons above six years of age unqualified to read, and that 384 schools are still required to complete the means of elementary education in the Highlands[1]." In the Highlands there was, and is, the special difficulty that in the smaller glens there are not children enough within walking distance of any school wherever situated. In the 18th century when the population was at its largest in those districts, the crofters were wretchedly poor, and the children were wanted, when still very young, to herd the sheep. The little girls were provided by thrifty mothers with a spindle, with which they span into rough worsted the tufts of wool that the sheep left on the bushes. Out of this they knitted stockings for themselves, which of course were needed only on Sundays.

Up to 1837 the General Assembly had confined their exertions to the Highlands and Islands, both because the need there was greater, and the means at their disposal forbade a wider range. The parliamentary grant of £10,000 to aid in the erection of school-houses in the poorer districts of large towns enabled them to establish schools in Glasgow, Greenock, and Nairn, by means of a second scheme for the Lowlands[2].

Shortly after the disruption of the Established and formation of the Free Church it was stated in the assembly of the latter that 360 teachers who had previously held office in parish, General Assembly or S.P.C.K. schools had joined the Free Church[3]. It was necessary to make provision for them by the erection of schools, and an education committee was formed, which worked with such vigour and success that in 1847 it was announced that the income for the year was nearly £10,000, and that 513 schools were receiving direct support from it. In 1850 the number had risen to 657 with an attendance of 60,000 pupils. Meanwhile two Ladies' Associations for promoting education in the Highlands came to the aid of the organisation of the churches, one connected with the Church of Scotland, and the other with the Free Church. They did much useful work in having Gaelic reading taught, in adding to the number of schools in destitute

[1] *Report for* 1834, pp. 6 and 13. [2] *Report for* 1837, pp. 24 and 57.

[3] Walker's Chapters from the *History of the Free Church*, 1895, pp. 114—124.

districts, in supplying clothing to the children whose need was greatest, and by a salary of £20 enabling the teacher, who was often a student for the ministry, to proceed to the university. There were also subscription schools supported by proprietors or the inhabitants of the district, and a few private adventure schools some of which were needed and efficient.

Between 1852 and 1859 several Bills were introduced into the House of Commons, which had for their object the abolition of tests and the opening up of parish schools to teachers other than members of the Established Church, but they were lost in the House of Lords. At last the Act of 1861 was passed which slackened the connection between the parish school and the Church, and made any member of a Presbyterian church eligible as teacher of a parish school. The schools established by the committees of both churches at the promptings partly of educational zeal, and partly of sectarian jealousy, in many cases required, and in many redundant and overlapping, were of similar type and did useful work, but on the passing of the Act of 1872 they gradually disappeared, being either handed over to the school Boards or discontinued as unnecessary when the Boards erected new premises.

In 1879 all the teachers of both classes of schools had practically disappeared from the lists of the Assemblies of both churches. The number of old teachers was small, and the pensions due to them amounted to a comparatively small sum.

Up to this time inspection of religious instruction was offered to Board and Assembly schools alike, but grants for excellence under examination were for some time confined to the latter class. The response made by the Church to the appeal for funds to continue these grants was however so limited, that payments were discontinued to all but the schools supported by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland. Inspection however was still offered as hitherto to all, and by many taken advantage of.

The education committees were now free to confine their attention in financial matters to the training colleges, to which reference will be made in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER XV

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1872). PARISH SCHOOLS

BESIDES the schools above dealt with whose aim was mainly the promotion of elementary education, there is yet another class, the parish schools. To these from the work done by many of them in higher branches, as being part and parcel of Knox's scheme in the First Book of Discipline, tolerably full references have been made in dealing with the burgh schools of our second period.

Knox's scheme, though very partially carried out, contained all that characterises Scottish education from 1560 till now. He saw the necessity of compulsory education for all, of provision being made by bursaries for boys of promise, who required pecuniary help at the university, and the propriety of boys not apt for learning betaking themselves to useful handicrafts. As to suitable remuneration for teachers, he pawkily remarked, "It is not to be supposed that all men will dedicate themselves and their children, that they luyke for no worldlie commoditie. But this cankered nature quhilk we bear is provokit to follow vertue, when it seeth honour and profeit annexed to the same."

The name, parish schools, conveys no definite idea of the very varied character of the work done in them, depending, as it did, on local and other conditions. In many cases the instruction was far short of John Knox's conception, and little more than elementary. In others it was sufficiently advanced to entitle them to be classed among secondary schools, as being fitted to prepare students for entering the junior classes in the university. This though imperfectly realised was the original aim of the Scottish parish school, and was never lost sight of in all the acts passed between the time of Knox and the Act of 1872, the

preamble of which states that "it is desirable to amend and extend the provisions of the law of Scotland on the subject of education, in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the *whole* people of Scotland." We have confirmation of this in Section 67 of that act "Provided, that due care shall be taken by the Scotch Education Department, in the construction of such minutes, that the standard of education which now exists in the public schools shall not be lowered, and that, as far as possible, as high a standard shall be maintained in all schools inspected by the said Department."

It is important again to point out that, unlike the English Act of 1870, the Act of 1872 contains no such expression as *elementary education*, and further that, incredible as it may seem, it is the fact that all the subjects till lately required for the Cambridge 'Little-Go' examination were at the end of the 18th century in some districts not seldom taught in village parish schools.

It cannot however be denied that there is a darker side to the picture in respect of both teaching and accommodation. The records of Kirk Sessions pretty much all over the country during the whole of the 18th century contain constant references to schools vacant and teachers apparently half starved. In 1735 there were in Ayrshire twelve parishes in which there was no school[1], and in the Highlands in 1758 there were 175 parishes in which there was neither school nor schoolmaster, churches, barns, byres and stables often doing duty as schools.

While it is impossible to make even an approximate comparison of the purchasing power of money then and now, and it is true that food and household requisites were much cheaper then than they are at present, there can be no doubt that for more than a century the lot of the teacher was hard, and his whole environment sordid and depressing[2]. But yet when the necessaries

[1] Edgar's *Church Life*, II, 75.

[2] Little meat was used. The pig and the hen were important contributors. Kailbrose, porridge, sowens, and oatcakes were the usual fare. The rural schoolmaster had often an acre or two of land and a cow, from the produce of which he and his family largely lived.

of life became dearer, as they gradually did, there was no additional income till 1803, when the minimum £16. 13*s.* 5*d.* and maximum £22. 4*s.* 5*d.* salaries were increased, the former being doubled and the latter trebled, and it was provided that there should be a revision every twenty-five years.

It is difficult to reconcile this state of matters with the position claimed for Scotland as in the van of educated nations in consequence of its possession of parish schools. And yet reconciliation of a kind is not impossible. The country was poor and distracted by civil and religious discord. The heritors were niggardly and, in the presence of events that affected them in a closer and more personal way, were indifferent about education. But the Church still exercised a powerful influence on the social life of the community, and encouraged teachers to persevere in their ill-requited labours. With the Church on their side, teachers believed that the grand comprehensiveness of Knox's educational aims would sooner or later be realised. Hence the undaunted spirit and inexhaustible patience with which they continued to discharge their duty under the most discouraging conditions, missing no opportunity of laying hold of boys of promise, and by carefully training them keeping up a connection between the school and the university.

In this way a splendidly conceived scheme, which was in danger of being made abortive through landlord greed and open disregard of legal enactment, was to some extent saved for the country.

There are few things in the history of education more admirable or more astonishing than the results that followed from the co-operation between minister and teacher at this time. The close connection between Church and school which had come down from Roman Catholic times was maintained. The teacher was elected by the heritors and minister of the parish, and, after swearing allegiance to the Sovereign, had to satisfy the Presbytery as to his ability and character. He was required to sign the Confession of Faith, and the minister was appointed superintendent of the school. The Presbytery had a right of visitation which they exercised up to the passing of the Act of 1872. Strengthened by this moral support, and in many cases by

pecuniary help from the minister's scanty enough stipend, the teacher toiled on for a salary little better than that of a day-labourer, lived in a scandalously insufficient house, taught in a building or shed whose only characteristic of a school was often simply shelter from rain, and sometimes not even that. But the work went on with more or less success, and not seldom so well that boys of promise entered the university, carried off bursaries, and rose to positions of commercial or professional respectability and even eminence[1].

But not to the minister and teacher alone must be assigned the credit of keeping up the standard of education. They could not have succeeded, had they not been backed up by what may perhaps be fairly described as the traditional character of the Scot for the self-reliance, perseverance, and reasonable ambition, by which so many have earned success. Instances of promotion from the plough to the pulpit are found in the annals of almost every parish. Our history records many such cases as that of the boy who, after having made considerable acquaintance with Latin, was compelled by the poverty of his parents to leave school and take temporary work as an assistant to Lady Abercrombie's gardener. When his services were no longer required, the lady gave him a guinea and said, "Well! Jock, how are you going to spend your guinea?" "Oh, my Lady," he replied, "I've just made up my mind to tak a quarter o' Greek, for I hadna got beyond Latin when I left the school." This he did and won high position in the Church.

In the first quarter of the 19th century it was found from the enquiry instituted by Brougham in 1818 that some parishes in remote districts were much too large for efficient supervision by one man, and an Act was passed in 1824, under which some of these very large parishes were divided, and called parliamentary parishes[2]. The tradition of a school in every parish was still kept steadily in view, and in 1838 "An act to facilitate the

[1] In country districts there was often practically no other career for a "lad o' pairts" than the Church, and to be a schoolmaster formed a convenient stepping-stone thereto. About 50 years ago nearly every minister in the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire had been a schoolmaster earlier in his career. At present (1908) there are only two or three, and they are oldish men.

[2] 5 Geo. IV, c. 90.

foundation and endowment of additional schools in Scotland" was passed. All that was demanded from the heritors was the erection of a school and schoolmaster's house. Government furnished the salary. In the following year the system of government inspection and grants in aid was instituted.

That there was great need for this act must be evident from what has been stated above. It was an attempt by those keenly interested in it to carry out proposals for "the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of the realm." But while religion thus occupied a prominent place in the programme, they had also in view that those "apt for learning" should be feeders of the universities. Other acts, merely supplementing or amending previous acts, were passed in 1845, 1854 and 1857. A much more important act was that of 1861 by which the salaries were increased, the minimum to £35, and the maximum to £70. The teacher was no longer required to sign the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church of Scotland, but to make a general declaration that he would not teach anything opposed to the authority of the Bible or Shorter Catechism. The examination of his qualification was transferred from the Presbytery to examiners appointed by the courts of the four universities within their respective areas. The power of dismissal for neglect of duty or inefficiency was, after consideration of H. M. Inspector's report, put into the hands of the heritors and minister of each parish; and for immorality or cruelty into the hands of the sheriff of the county. It is evident from this that the tenure of office was *ad vitam aut culpam.*

Notwithstanding the amendments and extensions on the lines of the Act of 1696 introduced by the Act of 1803 and the others referred to, it cannot be claimed that the scheme of a school in every parish was carried out all over Scotland to a satisfactory extent even up to the middle of the 19th century. Meanwhile the area of state-aided schools widened. Many teachers who had not dreamt of becoming certificated were induced to aim at and obtain the coveted parchment[1]. The

[1] A teacher qualified to serve in a state-aided school received a parchment certificate, on which an entry as to his practical skill was annually recorded. Such entries have for some years been discontinued.

examination was found to be fairly within the reach of a person of average ability and education. There were as yet no lions in the way in the shape of standards, examination schedules, and blue pencils. It came to be known that the government examination of the school, if somewhat more exact and testing than the genial, and sometimes perfunctory examination by the Presbytery, imposed no restriction on freedom of action; that teachers were allowed within pretty wide limits to do what seemed right in their own eyes, and were only expected to give fair consideration to well-meant suggestions; that there was no iron rule as to subjects to be taught or methods to be followed, and that there was elbow-room and free play for both teacher and inspector.

Along with this freedom and as correctives of its possible abuse teachers had the government report to look to, the entry on the certificate, its revision every fifth year, and probable elevation to a higher grade, and greater money value. A fixed augmentation grant from £10 to £30, according to the grade of the certificate, was paid directly to the teacher, who was thus a servant of the state and not as now the servant of the school board or managers. The result of all this was that, in quite a natural way, reasonable effort in the discharge of duty was secured. These grants were conditionally payable on the voluntary contributions and the amount of fees being together equal to the grant, the principle being that government would help those who helped themselves. To poor outlying districts more favourable terms were given.

The process of bringing the parochial and other old teachers into the ranks of the certificated was for some time slow. Of 1049 parish schools only 124 were on the government list in 1854. This was to be expected. Many of the parish teachers were men of mature years, and had passed the age—if there be any such age—at which examinations are a delight. Many had had successful experience, and, being probably somewhat rusty in technical details, disliked imperilling their well-earned reputation on the chance of failure in an examination for which they entertained scant respect.

The path was smoothed by the department granting, with-

out examination, certificates graded in height according as the applicants had been teachers for a certain number of years, were of a certain age, were graduates or members of council of a Scottish university, and even when these latter qualifications were absent. But evidence as to character and successful experience was demanded from all.

The rage for examination was scarcely past the incipient stage. The inspector had only in widely distant spots begun to trouble. In 1850 there was only one such officer. In 1860 there were eight. And other two spent a month or two inspecting Episcopal and Roman Catholic schools, inspection being at this time denominational. Parents were often present at these examinations in considerable numbers. This parental interest continued in country districts up to 1872, the ministers frequently joining hands with the inspector, and taking a share of the examination in religious knowledge. Thereafter it almost entirely ceased.

As the personal grants to teachers were either paid or refused in full, one can understand that refusals occurred only in cases of very marked inefficiency. In view of this and of the steady increase of schools on the government list, and also (as it was said) because of inefficiency in English schools, the Revised Code with its payment by results was, in 1862, devised as a remedy. Payment by results had a fine commercial ring, but the remedy was illusory, inherently mechanical and therefore bad; and though only formally applied to Scotland, threw back our education for at least ten years. It did some good by increasing regularity of attendance and improving to some extent *instruction* in the three R's, but it did less than nothing for *education*. It is scarcely credible that, for five of the years of its miserable existence, the elementary schools of England had for sustenance nothing but the three R's in their barest forms. Intelligence, grammar, composition, geography, and history were not results worth paying for, and were consequently not taught. This was only to a certain, but quite appreciable, extent true of Scottish schools, which were exempted from the financial operation of the Revised Code. But notwithstanding this exemption its influence on the weaker class of teachers was pernicious.

Percentage of pass, as being the most quotable test of efficiency, was by many the principal, and by some the only aim. The clever child being sure to pass was allowed to mark time, while the dullard was mercilessly and injuriously drilled. The aim of many teachers was a low dead level for all, a thing impossible in school, and, even if possible in school-life, certain to end there. No amount of bolstering will permanently or profitably prop up either the schoolboy or the man who is inherently stupid or persistently lazy. There are in every school pupils who are fit only to be hewers of wood or drawers of water. Let these by all means have as much education as they can assimilate, in order to sweeten their lives and make them useful citizens. There are on the other hand few schools in which there are not some—no doubt a very small proportion—who show that they are fit for more than elementary education. Surely these ought to have at least their fair share of attention. It is even arguable that if the tradition which has given Scotland a distinguished place among educated nations is to be maintained, it is on political and patriotic grounds expedient, that they should have, where possible, more than an equal share, the best soil being thus carefully cultivated, while even the poorest is not allowed to run to waste.

It is beyond question that the Revised Code demoralised many teachers by putting them on vicious educational lines. During the ten years before 1872 much of the instruction was given with the limited range of a machine, and with a total absence of spontaneity and intellectual stimulus. Many teachers would neither have expressed nor felt regret though mathematics and classics were passed over, who formerly would have invited examination of these higher branches with something akin to ostentatious but healthy pride. But they were not without excuse. They yielded to a temptation by no means slight. It took a strong man to refuse to worship the percentage divinity when the majority of school managers made a high percentage the channel of promotion. For a considerable time even after the Act of 1872 many school boards also treated percentage of pass as the true measure of efficiency. A comparison of this state of matters with the widening of the educational horizon

which followed the establishment of a separate code for Scotland in 1873, and which continued with gradual improvements for the following thirteen years, shows history repeating itself by a steady return towards the aim of the old parish schools, with the important difference that, combined with the effort to maintain a high standard for those fit to profit by it, there is security that pupils of duller mood are not sent empty away—one of the failings chargeable against a good many of the old parish schools.

In the *Reminiscences* of Dr Findlater, for some time editor of Chambers' *Encyclopaedia*, we have a description of the parish school in Aberdeenshire in which he was taught, in the first quarter of the 19th century. The contrast between the past and present school-house is exceedingly striking. "The dimensions were 34 by 14, and the height of the side walls 6 feet. A portion of the room was partitioned off, along each side stood a long flat table or desk with a form attached to each side, so that the scholars sat facing each other. A considerable space was thus left vacant in the middle of the floor, and there stood the master's chair without any desk. The fire burned on an open hearth: there was no flue, the smoke issuing by the usual lum (chimney). A part of the school-room space was taken up with a pile of peats. This store was kept up by each scholar bringing a peat every morning under his arm....The floor was of earth, and usually well worn into holes. The duty of removing the ashes, kindling the fire, and sweeping the floor devolved on a censor appointed weekly. The sweeping was mostly confined to the middle of the floor. The dust under the desks was rarely disturbed, and generally lay about an inch deep.... I do not think that I ever heard Mr Craik (the schoolmaster) ask the meaning of a word or sentence, or offer to explain the one or the other....In the curriculum of the Aberdour School neither grammar, history nor geography formed a part."

A school appliance probably known only in Aberdeenshire is perhaps worthy of mention, viz. the "queelin (cooling) stane." This was a smooth flat stone upon which offenders were made to sit after their unprotected and overheated cuticle had been subjected to the discipline of the birch or tawse. Whether the

cooling stone was meant as an additional punishment, or as a grateful alleviation of suffering must be left to conjecture.

On one occasion an obstreperous boy, who however seemed to have had the saving sense of humour, was, after the arrangement of his garments necessary to the punishment being effectively administered, placed on the back of the school porter who happened to wear a yellow wig. The boy seeing no other protection seized the wig, and clapped it upon the part of his body that was specially to suffer. Cooling stones are no longer in use, but they existed in some Aberdeen schools till the 19th century. (*The Past and Present of Aberdeenshire*, by Rev. Dr Paul, 1881, pp. 81—84.)

School-houses, teaching and discipline of this kind though more rare were not unknown in the middle of the 19th century. Better days however were not far off. The offer of government grants and the Act of 1861, which further increased the emoluments, and made Presbyterians of any denomination eligible for the office of parish schoolmaster, brought into the profession men of higher education and more thorough training. This again was followed by the Act of 1872 and the introduction of a separate code for Scotland, with the result that the general intellectual condition of the average school soon compared most favourably with what were somewhat thoughtlessly called the 'good old times.'

In respect of equipment, organisation and classification the improvement was very striking. The rooms were, except in outlying districts, fairly suitable in size and well ventilated, the discipline cheerful, and the spirit of work satisfactory.

Schoolmasters' Widows' Fund.

This is perhaps as suitable a place as any other for referring to a fund which had its origin early in the 19th century. Though it is still in existence, the purposes which it was intended to serve bulk much more largely in the third than in the fourth period of our subject.

In 1801 a little company of schoolmasters met in a Fifeshire village and resolved to establish a fund for the "relief of

widows and children of Burgh and Parochial Schoolmasters in Scotland." In the following year the fund was constituted by Act of Parliament, and all Burgh and Parochial Schoolmasters appointed thereafter were compelled to contribute to it sums varying from one to five guineas annually, according to the value of the annuities they wished to purchase. Thirty-one years later schoolmasters of *quoad sacra* parishes became eligible for membership, provided they received what was regarded as adequate salaries from the Heritors or Town Councils. Schoolmasters in other—such as Free Church—schools were not admitted as contributors.

The fund was wisely and economically administered. At the passing of the Act of 1872 which made contributions to it by future teachers non-obligatory, and thereby struck its death-blow, there were 1332 contributors; the annual income was nearly £8000; the annuities paid amounted to £5300, and the capital to over £117,000. In its centenary year (1901) the number of contributors had fallen to 249, and the capital to £90,000. Two years later the capital had been reduced to £83,000 and provision was then made, by substantially increasing the annuities, for its further reduction. It is quite evident that in a few years steps must be taken to wind up the fund, due care being taken to guarantee the annuities of all beneficiaries. It is greatly to be regretted that a fund so ably managed, and so beneficent in its operations was not extended in 1872 to include at least all the male teachers of Scotland. The annuities purchased by its members were not large, but they were sufficient to tide over a period of strain and stress in many a stricken household.

CHAPTER XVI

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1858). STOW AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

NO history of Scottish education could be complete which did not make reference to the distinguished part played by David Stow in connection with the training of teachers. So early as the middle of the 16th century Mulcaster, Headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, London, was a zealous advocate for the systematic training of teachers, but he seems to have got no adequate support. About two centuries later the need of such institutions was felt in France and Germany. In both, and especially in the latter, their establishment spread rapidly, but it was not till the beginning of the 19th century, that British educationists followed suit in the persons of Bell and Lancaster, with their shortlived and hurriedly conceived monitorial systems. Neither had the elements of permanence, but in at least one way they did good educational service by directing public attention to what should have been discovered long before, viz. that in education, as in every branch of skilled labour, there are good and bad systems; that the best results can only be obtained by the employment of good methods; and that for this, as for every other profession, those who are to practise it should be skilfully trained. While it is true that the Acts of Parliament passed early in the 17th century secured not everywhere, but in many parts of Scotland, teachers of attainments sufficiently high to prepare their best pupils for direct entrance into the University, there was as yet no scientific training based on principles having for their aim not mere instruction, but mental, moral, and physical development. For this we had to wait more than

a century and a half, when it was obtained through the untiring Christian zeal of David Stow. Keenly interested in mission work he devoted to it the whole of his leisure time for five years (1811—1816).

His first effort in education took the direction of starting Sabbath schools in one of the most degraded districts of Glasgow. He soon saw that this was not enough; that well-taught day schools were urgently needed; and that, to obtain them, he must have teachers who were more or less fully acquainted with the nature of the child, with good methods, and with the principles on which these methods were based. For some years Stow's thoughts on education were maturing and taking scientific shape. He did not start with a preconceived theory, but based his system on the observed results of experience. The kernel of his system was that to instruct was one thing, to educate another and much higher thing. It was not enough to store the memory with facts which the learner could use with mechanical accuracy within a limited range. Beyond this it was essential that knowledge should be acquired in such a way that the intellect was strengthened for making further advances in whatever direction taste, expediency, or necessity might suggest. To quote his own words, "The training of a child in its intellectual powers is not so much the affording instruction, as it is giving to the mind a habit of thinking, and of thinking correctly. The same may be said in regard to the moral affections; it is that of training the child to feel aright—and also in regard to the bodily organs, that of training to the habits of acting aright[1]." Or again, "Intellectual *Teaching* may be stated as the storing of the memory and understanding with knowledge; but habituating the mind to reflect upon and to digest the subjects presented is *Training*[2]."

Bell and Lancaster aimed only at elementary education. Bell said, "It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive way, or even taught to write or cipher." Stow had higher aims than this, but he had the stereotyped methods of parish and burgh teachers to fight against, who, so

[1] Stow's *Training*, p. 20, 1836 ed.
[2] Stow's *Training*, p. 26.

far as system was concerned, were each man a law unto himself, and treated with ridicule the idea of training being necessary for the teaching of such elementary subjects as arithmetic, history and geography.

In 1826 he formed the Glasgow Infant School Society, and with the assistance of its members opened a school for children under six years of age, which was conducted with great success. Exhibitions of Mr Stow's methods were given to crowded meetings in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Public interest was thoroughly aroused in many of the leading towns in Scotland. Before long two large classrooms were secured in the Saltmarket for older pupils as well. The attendance soon rose to 200. The system steadily gained ground and during the next ten years 100 teachers received more or less training in the principles advocated by Mr Stow. The Glasgow Educational Society was reconstituted, took over the two model schools then established, and advertised for a Rector. We have evidence of the interest taken in the new movement from Carlyle's offering himself as a candidate for the Rectorship. He sends a letter to his brother John informing him of his candidature with "If I stir in any public matter, it must be this of national education." He did not get the appointment. It is difficult to say what sort of a Rector he would have made, but that he had sound views as to the importance of training can be gathered from his remarks about certain schoolmasters who "knew syntax enough, and of the human soul thus much, that it had a faculty called memory, and could be acted on through the muscular integument by appliances of birch-rods. Alas, so is it everywhere, so will it ever be; till the hodman is discharged, or reduced to hod-bearing, and an architect is hired, and on all hands fitly encouraged; till communities and individuals discover, not without surprise, that fashioning the souls of a generation by knowledge can rank on a level with blowing their bodies to pieces by gunpowder[1]."

Success marked the career of these model schools which in 1836 were formally instituted as the Glasgow Dundas Vale Training College, the first institution of the kind in the United Kingdom. Battersea College and Borough Road Training

[1] *Sartor Resartus*, p. 65, 1858 ed.

College, London, followed in 1840 and 1842. It seems fair to claim for the Infant School started in 1826 the honour of being the first step in the training of Scottish teachers.

The Directors of the Glasgow Educational Society were anything but parochial in their aims. Both they and Mr Stow had resolved to awaken their fellow-countrymen to the educational wants of Scotland, and maintain a Normal Seminary on an undenominational basis for the education of teachers in the most improved modes of intellectual and moral training. The college was built at great expense and financial difficulties arose. Voluntary subscriptions were insufficient to meet the expenditure. An appeal was accordingly made to the Privy Council on Education, which was appointed in 1839, and had in its hands the administration of Grants. The appeal was answered in 1841 by an offer of £5000 to reduce the debt on the building, and £500 a year to meet current expenses, the General Assembly contributing the same annual amount, on condition that the site and buildings were conveyed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in trust for the maintenance of Model and Training Schools. This condition, by introducing a denominational element into what was meant by its founders to be a national institution and of universal application, was at first objected to. The Privy Council however refused to yield, and the offer was somewhat unwillingly accepted as the only alternative to the probable surrender of a scheme, which had been, with admirable devotion, ability, and success, so far carried out, and was so full of promise for the education of the country.

Meanwhile Stow's system had taken root elsewhere than in Glasgow. It is unnecessary to enter into details which in general character were the same as those already mentioned. Suffice it to say that so early as 1824 an Education Committee was appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, under whose superintendence teachers received a short training on Stow's lines in a Sessional School in Edinburgh; that eleven years later a Training department was introduced into the Sessional School, which was now called the General Assembly's Normal Seminary in Edinburgh. Further, when this school became too small, the Privy Council, on being appealed to in 1841, made the same

grants as to Glasgow—£5000 towards building and £500 annually for current expenses.

These negotiations were little more than completed when the ecclesiastical Disruption occurred in 1843. As the Training Colleges had been placed under the Superintendence of the Church of Scotland, the General Assembly thought they had no choice but to insist that all the teachers of schools under their management should be members of that Church. It turned out that Stow and almost all his colleagues had joined the Free Church, and notwithstanding their earnest request to be allowed to retain their posts in an institution open to students of all denominations for the establishment of which they had toiled so zealously, they were obliged to leave it. To Stow especially, who had, with a devotion almost unparalleled, given up thirty years of his life to a scheme which seemed triumphantly successful, the experience must have been extremely bitter.

Disappointed but not disheartened Stow and his Directors accompanied by the staff, students, and pupils who adhered to the Free Church, marched in procession in 1845 from Dundas Vale to temporary premises, where the work was carried on till a handsome college was erected in Cowcaddens at a cost of £10,000, the Privy Council contributing £3000. With this college Stow had a close connection till his death in 1864.

In Edinburgh the circumstances and action of those interested were in all essential points the same as in Glasgow. Temporary buildings were occupied by the Free Church till 1848 when Moray House, formerly the residence of the Earls of Moray, was secured and adapted to suit the requirements of a model school and Training College, the Privy Council contributing £3000 as in Glasgow.

There is room for difference of opinion as to the expediency of placing the Training Colleges under the superintendence of the Church of Scotland. The connection between church and school had been, from the earliest times, so close that such a policy was natural and intelligible. The ecclesiastical condition of the country must be taken into account. It must be borne in mind that the Disruption was not yet upon us, and probably not anticipated. Had it already come, Stow's aim at the

establishment of a national system on purely undenominational lines would probably have been realised; great waste of time, money and teaching power, and much ecclesiastical bitterness and unwholesome rivalry would have been avoided. On the other hand it is arguable, that in spite of these regrettable results, as springing from the Disruption, the spread of Training Colleges would not have been so rapid but for the stimulus supplied by ecclesiastical rivalry.

It is right to add that though strong sectarian feeling for a considerable time led students to attend the colleges connected with the Churches to which they belonged, the bitterness gradually disappeared, and the question of Church connection as between the two Presbyterian Churches scarcely, if at all, determined the selection of the college to be attended.

There was not as yet an Episcopal or a Roman Catholic Training College in Scotland, but in 1850 an Episcopal College was established in Edinburgh and is still very successfully maintained. After several changes in search of suitable buildings permanent and satisfactory premises were found in Dalry House to which a Practising School was added. Except in minor details there were scarcely any changes in the management of Training Colleges till the commencement of our fourth period, in which their development will be dealt with.

This is perhaps the most suitable place for adverting shortly to the introduction of the system of pupil-teachers in 1847 and to the training they received.

Originally they were examined by H.M. Inspector every year, till 1877, for five, and subsequently for four years.

At the end of the last year of apprenticeship collective examinations were held at all the Normal Schools for admission to training. Shortly after the Leaving Certificate Examinations were introduced in 1888, a change was made, examinations being held only at the end of the second and fourth years, and provision being made that those who had passed the Leaving Certificate Examination in certain subjects should be exempt from further examination. The curriculum was steadily and judiciously raised from very modest demands till in 1895 pupil-teachers of average ability reached the level of the Leaving Certificate. The

next change came in 1906, when H.M. Inspectors ceased to hold special examinations for pupil-teachers, who were required to take the Intermediate Certificate Examination at the end of their second year, and a Leaving Certificate Examination or an examination equivalent to it approved by H.M. Inspector at the end of their fourth year. Along with the change in examination in 1906 came a reduction in the teaching hours of pupil-teachers per week to $12\frac{1}{2}$, which virtually makes them half-timers. In June of the same year new and far-reaching regulations for the Preliminary Education, Training and Certification of teachers for various grades of schools were issued.

These are fully dealt with in an appendix by Dr Morgan. The doom of the pupil-teacher system was thus sealed. By these regulations the embryo teacher, who was henceforth to be known as a Junior Student, was to devote nine-tenths of his time to his own education, and one-tenth or less than one-tenth to the education of others. In other words he was to be first and foremost a student and not, like the pupil-teacher, a rate-saving, juvenile school-assistant. Bursaries were liberally provided for Junior Students and highly equipped centres were established for their instruction. The new system rapidly grew in popularity. No fewer than 88 centres were formed in the year it came into operation.

CHAPTER XVII

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1858). ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

IN proceeding to deal with our third university period repetition will be avoided by pointing out some features which were approximately common to all the Scottish universities during the 17th and, in some of them, during a large part of the 18th century, a period in which university education had in many respects reached its lowest position[1].

Some of these were a general adherence to education on medieval lines: the Trivium and Quadrivium, grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, as subjects for graduation; the teachers being officials of both college and university; the aggressive, or if that is too strong a word, the successful character of the Faculty of Arts as compared with other Faculties and the practical independence of its attitude towards the university; the general discontinuance, with gradual but varying rapidity, of residence and a common table, due probably to want of accommodation, which took place in Glasgow towards the end of the 17th, and in St Andrews and Aberdeen near the end of the 18th century[2]; the system according to which each Regent undertook the entire instruction of students in all the subjects of a four years' curriculum, which was kept up till past the middle of the 18th century; the gradual change from that system to the establishment of a professoriate and specialised teaching for each separate subject: a most important reform imperatively demanded by the ever-growing area covered by every branch of university study, the exhaustive treatment of

[1] *Report of University Commission of* 1831, p. 221.

[2] Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 307.

which was completely beyond the efforts of a single individual of even the most encyclopaedic attainments. Latin was not yet a university subject[1]. The schools were supposed to give sufficient preparation in that language, and claimed a monopoly of teaching it, just as the universities claimed a monopoly of teaching Greek. This was found to be unsatisfactory, and recourse was had to tutorial or private classes in Latin, presumably to enable students to profit by the lectures which were all delivered in Latin, with, it is to be feared, only moderate comprehension and much weakened effect. As merely an elementary knowledge of Greek was asked for, the only imperative studies for a degree were logic, metaphysics, and natural philosophy. The two former were simply medieval scholasticism, and the latter included Aristotle's Physics and the Spheres of Sacrobosco. With philosophy pneumatics was combined, a subject which dealt with such questions as the nature of angels, the human soul, and the being and perfections of the one true God[2]. In these circumstances—the neglect of linguistic studies, and the unceasing repetition of scholastic subtleties utterly destitute of human interest—it is not difficult to understand that the condition of academic life was one of arid dreary stagnation.

There was no specialised professor of Latin till the beginning of the 18th century. Regents were changed into Professors in Edinburgh in 1708, in Glasgow in 1727, in St Andrews in 1747, and in Aberdeen not till the beginning of the 19th century. Professors Geddes in King's and Clerk Maxwell in Marischal College, Aberdeen, were the last men appointed under the name of Regents in Scotland, but their work in Greek and natural philosophy respectively was specialised. Latin had now ceased to be infra-academical, and students taking it were for the first time allowed to matriculate. The students in all the universities

[1] In 1620 a Chair of Humanity was founded in St Leonard's College by Sir John Scott of Scots-Tarvet, but, owing to a dispute, it did not become active till about 1644. The authorities of St Salvator's College objected to St Leonard's having a chair that they did not possess, but by arrangement with the Earl of Cassillis, the patron of some old college chaplainries, they succeeded in getting one also, and thus both were satisfied. *Acts of Scots Parliament*, VI, I, pp. 105, 108, 184. Teachers of grammar schools however complained that by these appointments their province was unfairly invaded. *Evidence*, Vol. III, p. 212.

[2] Natural philosophy probably included mathematics.

lived in college chambers. When this was gradually discontinued, the rights of Bursars to residence and the common table were commuted for a money payment[1].

With respect to St Andrews there is, as already mentioned, no trustworthy information between the time of Melville and the end of the 17th century. The manuscript sources are mostly confined to formal lists of names and to legal and fiscal documents. Records in narrative form were either not kept or have been lost. There are several documents connected with visitations in the 'evidence' published by the Royal Commissioners of 1826, but these and the acts of parliament affecting the university have little, if any, educational aspect.

There has lately appeared the first of a series of volumes of the matriculation rolls of St Andrews by its very competent librarian, Mr Maitland Anderson. These volumes when completed will furnish materials for a tolerably exhaustive history of the university, of which nothing in the form of Fasti exists. The task is one which can be successfully undertaken only by a man who has at hand all the minutes and hitherto unpublished documents. For this task Mr Anderson is admirably qualified. These volumes will cover three periods, the first from 1411 to 1579, the second from 1579 to the union of the colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard in 1747, and the third from 1747 to 1897. For certain reasons it has been thought expedient to begin with the volume which covers the period of 150 years (1747 to 1897), a period marked by many important changes, and of greater interest from its nearness to our own times.

In the following attempt to narrate what is known about St Andrews, copious use has been made of the highly instructive and detailed introduction which accompanies the matriculation roll just referred to.

Some idea of the imperfection of the records may be gathered from the matriculation entries. Geography seems to have been very faulty, the students matriculating having in some cases assigned their native towns to wrong counties. Some ages remain stationary for a year or two. In others the students become rapidly older in the course of a single year, while some

[1] Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, II, p. 391.

become younger between successive years. The youngest entrant is 12, the oldest 62 years of age. The questions of age and place of birth were evidently non-essential, for a few had been born in two or more places, the explanation probably being that the students' parents had removed from one parish to another during their residence at the university.

In Roman Catholic times and after the Reformation, as often as Episcopacy was in the ascendant between the Reformation and the Revolution, a Bishop or Archbishop was Chancellor and official head of the university. There is no clear evidence as to when and how lay Chancellors were elected, but in 1599 the Earl of Montrose was appointed to the office by the King[1], and from 1697 to 1858 the Senatus Academicus made the election, and invariably appointed a layman. His chief function then as now was to confer degrees, but he was often consulted on matters of importance affecting the welfare and privileges of the university, and his sanction was required for internal arrangements. Residence was not necessary, and the office became what it is now, practically an honorary appointment for life. In his absence the Vice-Chancellor or the Rector as 'promotor' presided at the graduation ceremonial. The office of Vice-Chancellor, however, was not always filled. For more than 100 years no reference is made to the existence of such an official in connection with degrees, and during that time the Rector or Dean of the Faculty of Arts undertook the graduation duties. In 1862 a Faculty of Medicine was established, but the conferring of degrees had for a long time been under the control of the Senatus, and all that the Faculties could do in this respect was to recommend to the Senatus worthy candidates[2].

The negotiations for the union of the Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard extended over nine years. It was at first proposed that all the three colleges should be united, and with a view to this, each was asked to send in an account of its general condition in respect of revenues. St Mary's declined and sent in no statement. The other two did. In 1741 the arrangements were so nearly completed that a movement was made for raising a sum to meet the expense of having an act for the union passed,

[1] *Evidence*, Vol. III, 1837, p. 199.
[2] J. Maitland Anderson's *Matriculation Roll*, p. xv.

but some difficulty emerged which was not overcome till 1746. In 1747 the royal assent to the union was received. The union was necessary because of the poverty of both colleges, part of whose revenues had been used for increasing church stipends. The buildings were dilapidated and the salaries were very small. But union was desirable on other grounds. There were professors of the same subjects in both colleges, and consequently great waste of teaching power, for in no subject were the combined classes too large for one professor. Two sets of buildings had to be kept up although one set was sufficient. The United College continued to be residential, the number of its members being one Principal, eight Professors, and 16 bursars on the original foundation, with possibly others, and the college servants.

The Principal of St Leonard's became Principal of the United College. The professorial staff was made up of three from St Leonard's, three from St Salvator's, and two who were Professors in the university, but previously not attached to either college, one being Professor of Mathematics, and the other Professor of Medicine. A saving was effected by this reduction of staff.

When the colleges were united the constitutional arrangements for the management of the university were somewhat complicated. There were four bodies each with functions apparently special, but at the same time such as could scarcely be discharged without collision arising over matters in which, to a greater or less extent, some of the other bodies were interested and for which they thought themselves responsible. The four bodies were the Comitia, which consisted of the resident members of the university, and had at least one special function, the election of the Rector. The next was the Senatus Academicus, which consisted of the Principals and Professors of both colleges, whose power seems to have been absolutely autocratic, covering matters academical, financial, and disciplinary. The next body was the two colleges which in certain business matters were independent of the university. "Each held its own meetings, managed its own property, appointed its own officials, and exercised discipline over its members subject to an appeal to the Rectorial Court[1]." This Rectorial Court was the Senatus. The next and last was the Faculty of Arts, which consisted of the

[1] Anderson's *Matriculation Roll*, p. xiii.

Principal and Professors of the United College, administered its own revenues, and could grant degrees in Arts independently of the Senatus. In these arrangements there was little change till 1858.

For more than 100 years after the union the usual course covered four years, during the whole of which attendance in the Latin and Greek classes was imperative. In the second year mathematics and logic were added, mathematics and moral philosophy in the third, and mathematics and natural philosophy in the fourth year. History and chemistry were recommended as subjects to be studied, but they were apparently not imperative. This curriculum continued in force till 1858, when considerable changes were introduced.

The election of Rector seems to have undergone more changes in St Andrews than in the other universities. By the original constitution all the students took part in the election. The first change was introduced in 1475, when the "election was confined to Doctors, Masters, and Graduates," but on the occasion of a royal visitation in 1625 a return was made to the original plan[1]. "From 1747 to 1825 the right of election was confined to the Principals and Professors, the students of St Mary's College, and the third and fourth year students of the United College[2]." In 1826 it was restored to all matriculated students, and in 1859 the election was made by 'nations' as in Glasgow and Aberdeen. The four 'nations' were:

Fifani—Natives of Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan, and Perthshire south of Tay.

Angusiani—Natives of Forfar, Perth north of Tay, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn, Inverness exclusive of the Isles, Ross, Sutherland, Cromarty and Orkney.

Lothiani—Natives of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, Peebles, Selkirk, Berwick and Roxburgh.

Albani—Natives of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr, Renfrew, Bute, Lanark, Dumbarton, Stirling, Argyle, the Western Isles, and all who were not natives of Scotland.

Each nation elected an Intrant as its representative, and these

[1] *Evidence*, p. 203.

[2] *Evidence*, p. 9, and J. Maitland Anderson's *Matriculation Roll*, p. xviii.

four elected the Rector. In the event of equality of votes by the Intrants the retiring Rector had a casting vote.

After the union of the colleges only four persons were eligible for the office of Rector, viz. the Principal of the United College, the Principal of St Mary's College, the Professors of Divinity and of Church History[1]. This restricted choice was disliked by the students and objectionable on other grounds for the dispatch of business at college meetings. The students, tenacious of what they believed were their rights, boldly elected in 1825 an outside Rector in the person of Sir Walter Scott, who was of course declared by the Senatus Academicus to be ineligible[2]. To describe in detail the contest between the Senatus and the students from that time forward would be tedious. Suffice it to say that in 1843 the Intrants elected Dr Chalmers, a former Professor of Moral Philosophy, as Rector. The contest had now reached an acute stage, and the Intrants were called to account by the Senatus for violating the statutes, and threatened with expulsion, which however was not carried out. Undaunted by previous failures two Intrants, 15 years later, voted for Professor Buist, and two for Sir Ralph Anstruther, and Professor Brown the retiring Rector gave his casting vote for the outsider. The validity of the election being again called in question, the matter was referred to Lord Advocate Inglis, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, who recommended the Senatus to install Sir Ralph Anstruther. In 1859 the commissioners finally settled the question by ordaining that the election was to be decided by a general poll of the matriculated students, and that all Principals and Professors were ineligible for the office[3].

From the union of the colleges up to 1859 the Rector was the resident head of the university and president of the Senatus Academicus, and not as now an honorary official.

At the time of the union the Chair of Civil History was founded by the Act of Union. It was the only new chair introduced into

[1] Anderson's *Matriculation Roll*, p. xix.

[2] Principal Tulloch when a student at St Andrews was the leader of a protest by the students against the election to the Rectorship of "certain professors in rotation without any reference to the wishes of the students." Mrs Oliphant's *Memoir of Tulloch*, 3rd ed., Edin. 1889, p. 10.

[3] Ordinance, No. 4.

the United College, all the other subjects having been previously taught in the university. It was one of the eight professorships which formed the original teaching staff of the United College. The Chair of Mathematics, founded in 1668, was also at the union transferred from the university to the college. No enlargement of the foregoing professorial staff was contemplated by the Act of Union. It was against the interests of the eight Professors to have new chairs founded, and the Professor of Chemistry was deliberately kept out of the membership of the college until he was put in by ordinance. For the Chair of Civil History there was neither a regular class, nor satisfactory continuity in the work proposed to be done by such a professorship.

Muddle is perhaps the only word descriptive of the policy pursued. It is difficult to assign the cause or allocate the blame. Civil History having failed to attract students, one of the occupants of the chair is said to have taught Modern Languages instead. Three successive Professors up to 1850 had no better success, one of them admitting to the commissioners of 1827 that the chair had been a sinecure, so far as lecturing was concerned, during the 42 years he had occupied it. When a vacancy occurred in 1850, the Patron, acting on the suggestion of the Senatus, appointed a Professor who was to add Natural History in all its branches to Civil History. As might be expected from this unnatural combination, though sanctioned in 1862 by Ordinance 21, section 8, failure was the result. This Professor in the course of 25 years is said to have had one class in Civil, and six classes in Natural History. In the latter subject he delivered 50 lectures in which were included Mineralogy, Geology, and Zoology[1].

Towards the end of the 18th century the Town Council and university authorities entered into negotiations for the payment of a teacher of French. The movement apparently was not a successful one for, after the experience of a few years, we find the United College agreeing to give the teacher £5, and St Mary's College half that amount, provided "he shall remove himself peaceably without giving them any trouble." It may be presumed that he accepted the offer. At any rate we hear nothing more about French till 1794 when a Frenchman was appointed

[1] Anderson's *Matriculation Roll*, p. xxxiii.

and taught the subject till 1802. Falling ill he was succeeded by a Mr Hunter who for 15 years combined with French teaching lectures on Logic. From 1817 to 1854 a second Frenchman held the appointment with, presumably from the time covered, satisfactory success. There is however no record of the number of his students.

The story of the origin of the Chair of Medicine by the 'Princely Chandos' is very curious, and is told in detail by Mr Maitland Anderson in an admirable article in the *Scottish Review* of January 1895. It is much too long for our purpose, but a summary of it may be given and not be out of place in view of the interest taken in and the kindness shown to St Andrews by that somewhat eccentric but generous nobleman the first Duke of Chandos. How the interest arose is purely a matter of conjecture, the most probable explanation being that it had its origin in his friendship with the Duke of Atholl, then Chancellor of the University. Be this as it may, the outcome of it was an offer to found a Chair of Eloquence or Rhetoric. The Senatus, in thankfully accepting the offer, suggested that a Chair of Medicine and Anatomy would be more useful, especially as they knew no one who could satisfactorily fill a Chair of Rhetoric. The Duke, in a letter couched in terms of a charming old-world courtesy, left it absolutely in the hands of the Senatus to substitute a Chair of Medicine for a Chair of Eloquence or Rhetoric. This however did not settle the question. It is tolerably clear from a pretty large correspondence that a Dr Stuart, who had probably been tutor to the Marquis of Carnarvon, son of the Duke of Chandos, had originally suggested a Chair of Rhetoric in the interest of an intimate friend, Francis Pringle, Professor of Greek in St Leonard's College. Dr Stuart thought Pringle could be Professor of Rhetoric without interference with the professorship he already held. In the meantime a small minority of the Senatus drafted regulations for the proposed Chair of Rhetoric, and another committee did the same for a Chair of Medicine and Anatomy. A proposal to submit the drafts for his Grace's judgment was negatived, Mr Pringle and another dissenting. In this way the Chair of Medicine and Anatomy was founded in 1721, but it had no better success than the Chair of Civil History. The first three

Professors seem to have "demonstrated the skeleton," and given occasional lectures on Practical Pharmacy. From 1811 to 1896 a succession of three or four Professors lectured on Chemistry, Anatomy or Physiology, apparently in a general way, but Medicine seems not to have been touched.

In 1808 Dr John Gray left a sum of money to found a Chair of Chemistry, but no appointment was made till 1840, when by accumulation the required amount was reached. The chair however had no status either in college or university till 1844, when the Professor was admitted as a member of the Senatus, and in 1862 became a Professor in the United College.

In Greek, Humanity, and Mathematics there were no changes except the addition of a third more advanced class, the addition to Mathematics being made in 1822 and to Greek and Humanity in 1853. The course of instruction in Natural and Experimental Philosophy was considerably expanded.

When the colleges were united in 1747 St Salvator's had six and St Leonard's 10 foundation bursars. There were also four servers who, like sizars in the English colleges, originally had certain menial duties to perform in connection with the college tables, for which they received payments on the same terms as the foundation bursars, viz. from £5 to £6. The payments were gradually raised till, in 1829, they reached £10, an amount which remained unchanged till the passing of the Act of 1889, when 10 were combined to form five bursaries of £20, the others retaining their former value. At the union of the colleges these were the only bursaries open to competition by students entering the university.

During the second half of the 18th century only three additional bursaries were founded, but in the 19th century the increase was so great that in 1896 more than 100, ranging from £5 to £50, were open, in the awarding of which there was a steadily growing tendency towards competition rather than presentation, a tendency both healthy in itself and the natural result of the establishment of a preliminary entrance examination in 1892.

A feature probably peculiar to St Mary's was the daily meeting for morning and evening prayer in the Prayer Hall, where the services were conducted entirely by students, no Professor

being present. In the course of time these meetings lost much of their devotional character, and were sometimes accompanied by serious irregularities in the behaviour of the students, who "assembled there under the pretext of attending prayers, and adjourned to the lodgings of their fellow-students or to taverns, where they spent their evenings in idleness and dissipation[1]." In consequence of this, evening prayers were in 1824 discontinued, and morning prayers were conducted in the class-rooms before the commencement of lectures. The buildings were at this time sadly dilapidated but thorough renovation followed shortly thereafter.

From the union in 1747 to 1814 there were nine bursaries tenable for four years, the holders of which were maintained at the public table. In the latter year maintenance was changed into a money payment, an arrangement which continued for 60 years, when the number of bursaries was reduced to six, and 20 years later to three, tenable for three years and of the increased value of £24. There was no examination for foundation bursaries in Divinity till 1855; certificates of character and success in the Arts course determined the selection. Early in the 19th century residence had practically ceased. There were only a few prizes of values ranging from £10 to £21 to be competed for by Divinity students. Till 1855 they had no fees to pay. In that year and up to 1873 a fee of £1. 11*s.* 6*d.* was charged. The Divinity session covered five months including a short vacation at Christmas. In 1826 it was reduced to four months.

After the union up to 1843 fairly successful attempts were made to keep alive and, as far as possible, restore the ecclesiastical tradition of the university by making attendance at public worship by the students a quasi-university function. This was doubtless one of the original aims of the university, and was longest retained in St Andrews. The selection of a church for this purpose depended on circumstances in respect of convenience and condition of the buildings. For some time St Leonard's, and subsequently St Salvator's Church, was that to which the students were conducted. Towards the end of the 18th century dispensations from attending church were granted to non-Presby-

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, 1837. *Evidence*, p. 96.

terian students on their giving assurance to remain indoors and not behave improperly during the time of divine worship. Before long greater freedom was asked for, and a petition largely signed by students was in 1824 presented to the authorities craving permission to be allowed to worship where they pleased. This request was refused. Students who were late or absent, and had not got dispensations, were fined, the fines going to the poor of St Leonard's parish. Compulsory attendance ceased in 1843, and when the church was renovated in 1862 the students' gallery was done away with.

The buildings of both St Leonard's and St Salvator's Colleges, but especially of the latter, were at the time of the union in a more or less dilapidated condition, but after examination it was decided that, for certain reasons, repairs could be on the whole more profitably made on the more ruinous structure. Sundry reconstructions and additions were accordingly carried out, but though £5500 had been expended, the Commissioners of 1826 pronounced the buildings to be in a lamentable condition. It was the unanimous opinion of Commissioners, Professors, and tradesmen that they were unsatisfactory and even discreditable. Professor Chalmers said they "should not only have a complete suite of class-rooms, but a fabric of somewhat creditable aspect, that would announce itself to be a college, and not be mistaken for an old cotton-mill[1]."

An appeal for funds was made to Government by Lord Melville who was then Chancellor, and in 1828 authority was given to the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland to proceed with the works. The addition of a new east wing on ground chosen by the Government was a great improvement, but far from successful in respect of taste, convenience, and sanitation. Dry rot set in, and made it necessary to renew the flooring of the lower rooms. Nothing more was done towards completing the repairs till 1843, when Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair, Provost of St Andrews, took the matter in hand with such energy and heartiness that new plans were prepared and sanctioned, and the reconstruction completed in 1851. The buildings were then taken over by the Treasury, and in 1889 transferred to the University Court.

[1] *Evidence*, p. 163.

CHAPTER XVIII

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1858). GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

ON the re-establishment of Episcopacy at the Restoration the university was deprived of a large amount of its revenues, in consequence of which three professorships were temporarily discontinued, one of Theology, and those of Humanity and Medicine. The staff accordingly was represented by the Principal, one professor of Theology, and four Regents. From this time till the Revolution there was no change.

When at the Revolution Presbytery was re-established, many of the Professors were removed from their chairs, and their places were taken by men of no special distinction. As a consequence of this the end of the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th century was, as we have seen, a period of stagnation in university life. There was however no scarcity of students. Professor Reid, on the authority of Principal Stirling's diary of 1702, informs us that, owing to the great demand for clergymen to fill the charges left vacant by the ecclesiastical change, the number of students was 402, of whom 323 were Arts students[1]. Regenting being still the fashion, the Regents, as a rule, knew a little of all university subjects in the Faculty of Arts, but none so thoroughly as to make important contributions to learning or arouse healthy interest in the subjects taught. This was followed by idleness, lowered tone in the students, and want of loyalty to the chief authorities on the part of the Regents.

A perusal of the *Munimenta* dealing with that period warrants the inference that the condition of the university was very far

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Glasgow University*, p. 27, 1799.

from satisfactory. On many occasions during the next twenty years students were either expelled or severely censured for long absences from lectures, breaches of the peace, indecency, drinking in ale-houses with disreputable people, and scandalously irreverent behaviour in church. One student was expelled for stealing a book, another for appropriating church collections meant for the poor. Up to 1725 scarcely any year was free from rowdyism incurring expulsion. Blasphemous language and abuse of the Confession of Faith were indulged in. The Principal received insulting letters calling him a "greeting [weeping] hypocrite." When a student was imprisoned in the steeple for such conduct, his friends broke open the doors and released him. Even the Rector was not safe from insult, and his house was attacked by a riotous rabble. Students challenged each other to fight with swords. Town and gown riots were marked by a violence far exceeding the licence usually permissible and leniently winked at on such occasions. Barbarous assaults were made on citizens who, by way of reprisal, entered the college "drawing their swords and shooting among the unarmed students." The college authorities admit "there were faults on both hands," and in a conference with the magistrates "conclude an act of oblivion for what is past and endeavour a regulation for the future[1]."

The classes were opened with prayer by the students in turn. The prevailing tone being such as has been described, it is not surprising that this practice was found to be so little conducive to edification that, "upon weighty considerations," the authorities recommended its discontinuance, or if continued, that only students of the greatest gravity and sobriety should be chosen[2].

We find a similar disregard of law and order in the conduct of some of the Professors, two of whom were on more occasions than one "guilty of insolent carriage and contempt against the Principal...and the Faculty suspends them from their functions as Regents" till they crave pardon, which they do and the suspension is removed[3].

At this time Professors were usually appointed by examination and competition, but the candidates seem to have been few and

[1] *Munimenta*, II, 372, 410, 415, 423.
[2] *Munimenta*, II, 375.
[3] *Munimenta*, II, 384, 387.

the test of competency strongly medieval[1], and when not medieval, ludicrously simple. A Professor of Greek was duly appointed after delivering within five days an analysis of ten lines (171—181) of the 8th book of the *Iliad*, and a Professor of Latin on producing after three days a translation of a passage from the *Annals* of Tacitus, and a Latin version of Lord Loudoun's speech[2]. In neither case was there a competition.

The Latin teaching had been discontinued for nearly twenty years owing to want of funds. When it was now revived the salary was £240 Scots, and was soon afterwards considerably increased to about £20 sterling. In order not to injure the grammar school "the Professor of Latin was forbidden to teach Latin grammar, that being proper and peculiar to a grammar school." No students were admitted into the Latin class "unless they have learned at least the three parts of grammar[3]." This considerate tenderness for the welfare of the grammar school had its consistent counterpart in the university's protection of its own interests by forbidding, as in Edinburgh[4], the grammar school to teach Greek. This prohibition, if it existed in Glasgow, seems to have been somewhat ignored, for we are told that in the High School of Glasgow there was given "a little insight into Greek." It is at any rate certain that the Professor of Greek had a class in which the work commenced with the alphabet[5]. In point of fact till well past the middle of the 19th century this was the case in Glasgow. As late as 1875 the Calendar states that the Tyrones or youngest class commence with the grammar.

During this unpromising period however we are not without evidence of earnest efforts being made by the authorities to brace

[1] Three or four subjects were prescribed and assigned to the candidates by lot, *e.g.*

Quodnam sit criterion veritatis?
Num mens humana sit materialis an immaterialis?
Quodnam sit fundamentale praeceptum juris naturalis, aut quaenam, si plura sint?
Quae sit causa variorum colorum in corporibus naturalibus?

Munimenta, II, 413.

[2] *Munimenta*, II, 385, 389.

[3] *Munimenta*, II, 390.

[4] Grant's *University of Edinburgh*, I, 208.

[5] In Cook's *Life of Principal Hill*, p. 62, we are told that in 1760 Professor Hill spent much time in teaching the alphabet and parts of speech in Greek.

up what was loose in the general management. There were proposals for the increase of salaries. Professors were requested to give to the Principal and Dean of Faculty "An account of their way of teaching and managing their several provinces." Strict rules were laid down for preserving the instruments for experiments in Natural Philosophy. The professors of Greek and Humanity of themselves proposed very sensible suggestions for improvement in the teaching of these subjects[1]. Bursars neglecting their studies were to forfeit their emoluments. Nor were friends outside the university indifferent about its interests. Within thirty years there was an addition of seven chairs, some of them revived, some newly founded, viz. Mathematics (1691), Humanity (1706), Oriental Languages (1709), Civil Law (1712), Medicine (1712), Church History (1716), and Anatomy (1718)[2].

In 1708 Queen Anne made a grant of £210 yearly for increase of professors' salaries, a gift which was renewed by her successors. King William's grant of £300 a year was employed for extinguishing debt and for the support of four bursars. Subsequently part of it was used to provide salaries for the Professor of Civil Law and the Professor of Medicine, and George I furnished £170 a year for the Professor of Church History[3].

In several directions we see the growth of a spirit of earnestness and of creditable effort on the part of the university authorities. They check a tendency to needless and injurious expense on entertainments at graduation, the stenting [assessing] for which is forbidden on pain of expulsion. They placed their patriotism and pluck above suspicion when, in view of a threatened "invasion by French and Irish Papists sent and supported by the French King," they agree to furnish from among them 51 soldiers and pay them each sixpence a day[4].

Up to this time there seem to have been no candidates for the degree of M.D. In 1711 a skilful surgeon asked to be examined for that degree. The authorities "considering that they might still want professors of Medicine" consent to examine him, but as there was no Medical Faculty, nor even a single

[1] *Munimenta*, II, 407.
[2] *University of Glasgow Old and New*, XXIV.
[3] *Old Statistical Account of Glasgow University*, p. 28, 1799.
[4] *Munimenta*, II, 393.

medical professor, a board of examiners had to be improvised for the occasion consisting of two physicians practising in the city, and some lay assessors, who did not put him to an unduly severe test[1]. They reported that he had acquitted himself well and was worthy of the degree. In the following year (1712) regulations were made for reviving the professorships of Medicine and Law, which had fallen into abeyance for a considerable time, and the reviving of which had been recommended at the visitation in 1664[2].

The university still maintained its exemption from the jurisdiction of the city magistrates in connection with offences charged against students, and on several occasions ordered proceedings to be taken against the magistrates should they refuse to restore fines imposed on students who were noways under their jurisdiction[3].

In 1714 a proposal, ultimately successful, was made to get a printing press for the university, and about the same time the morals of the students were safeguarded by a prohibition against acting of plays. These measures are satisfactory evidence of honest intention on the part of the authorities to improve matters, but one is led to question their breadth of view, on learning that they gave the Provost hearty thanks for the interest he had taken in the students, by refusing to a gentleman from England permission to give a course of Experimental Philosophy in the city[4].

An act for the better regulation of the university in 1727 deals with the election of Rector, meetings to be held, bursars, factor, accounts, professors, teaching and degrees. The stringency of the regulations (which occupy 12 pages) affecting the condition of the university at all points shows that the commissioners considered drastic measures for its rehabilitation absolutely imperative[5].

Instruction in Aristotelian philosophy continued to be imparted in Latin to boys of from 13 to 15 years of age[6], the

[1] *Munimenta*, II, 401, and Duncan's *Memorials of Glasgow Faculty of Physicians*, p. 117.

[2] *Munimenta*, II, 408.

[3] *Munimenta*, II, 400.

[4] *Munimenta*, II, 429.

[5] *Munimenta*, II, 569.

[6] Principal Hill and Colin Maclaurin were 11, Principal Robertson and David Hume were 12 years of age when they entered college.

language being largely, and the subject almost entirely, beyond them. It is difficult to conceive of anything more deadening. The wonder is that it proved to any extent workable.

Prospects began to brighten with the appointment of Hutcheson to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1728. He was not the first to see the lamentable waste of teaching power involved in lecturing to lads in a language of which many of them had not a working knowledge, but the first to have the independence to assert it and act accordingly. By lecturing in English and discarding old text-books of barren scholasticism he stirred up intellectual life, invested his subject with fresh interest, and gave the first hearty impulse to the pursuit of philosophy in Scotland. The example he set was followed, at first slowly, but in course of time generally, by Simson in Geometry, by Adam Smith and Thomas Reid in Philosophy, by Cullen and Black in Chemistry, and by Leechman in Theology. Lecturing in Latin was continued longer in Law than in other subjects.

Salaries were small in the early years of the 18th century, the Principal receiving £60, and his four Regents £25 each and "board at the common table," and the Professors of Latin and Greek, subjects not necessary for graduation, £15 and a small fee from their pupils. Towards the end of the century the salaries were increased but only to a small extent. The emoluments of the Professors depended largely on fees which Professor Reid thought greatly promoted their zeal and diligence, adding with gentle cynicism, "few persons are willing to labour, who, by doing little, or by following their amusement, find themselves in easy and comfortable circumstances[1]."

Residence and a common table though much approved by some members of the Faculty were not regarded with general favour by the students. The rigid espionage of a lad's every movement, extending even to discovering "what conscience each makes of private devotions morning and evening," and the penalties attached to uttering a single word in the vernacular were vexatious[2]. This insistence on countless frivolous observances,

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Glasgow University*, p. 33, 1799.

[2] *Munimenta*, II, 489. The Regents in turn took weekly office as Hebdomadar, whose duty it was to visit the rooms of every student and take note of the breach of any of the intolerable rules.

combined with a bill of fare the reverse of attractive, resulted in a gradual falling away, and at last in a discontinuance of both residence and a common table. A system so unnatural and fruitful of hypocrisy was certain to die out. It was not given up in St Andrews till 1820. In Glasgow, students who could afford the expense, often boarded in the families of the Professors. This continued also a long time in King's College, Aberdeen and also in Edinburgh.

The next chair founded after those already mentioned was that of Astronomy in 1760. The university now showed signs of considerable activity. Professor Reid, writing in 1764 to his friend Dr Skene, states that there are commonly four or five college meetings every week, that a literary society met once a week, and that the other Arts Professors are quite as busy as himself. There are now fourteen Professors all of whom, except one, teach at least one hour a day. Nearly one third of the students are Irish, many of them, like the Scots, very poor. There are also a good many Englishmen and some foreigners. The session is just commencing and all have not yet come up. When fully convened about 300 are expected. The Professors have fine houses and live harmoniously with each other, managing their political differences with decency. An astronomical observatory and a printing house have been supplied. His (Professor Reid's) salary has touched £70 and may reach £100 this session[1]. How far even this modest salary would cover household expenses may be gathered from what Boston has said of his student expenditure for three years. He states that for sustenance, fees and college dues it amounted to £11. 18*s*. 8*d*. sterling. This was probably supplemented by the supply of oat and barley meal, which students often took with them from home. In view of their narrow means this meal was exempted from the toll of the "ladleman" who exacted one ladleful from every sack of meal. It is not irrelevant to suggest that Boston's extremely frugal habits, combined with exhausting work, seriously injured his health and probably account for the depressed and depressing character of his religious views.

As we approach the end of the century there appears a large

[1] Reid's *Works* (Hamilton's edition), I, p. 40.

increase in the number of students. Within thirty years it had grown from about 300 to 700[1]. In 1790 a voluntary subscription for an Infirmary was commenced. In the following year a Royal Charter and a site were obtained for it. In 1793 the building was completed, and in 1794 opened[2].

Before the century was ended funds were bequeathed for the foundation of medical bursaries and lectureships, and there was added to the university the noble donation of the Hunterian Museum for which a building was erected in 1804[3].

The opening of the Infirmary was marked by a large increase in the number of medical students. In the first fourteen years of the 19th century the increase was astonishing, though there was yet no Professor of Surgery or Midwifery. In 1790 the number of medical students was 54. From this time there was a large and steady growth till in the session of 1813–14 it reached a maximum of 352, owing to the demand for army surgeons during the protracted Continental wars in which Britain had a share. In 1860 the number was 256. It had rivals to contend with in the Andersonian and Portland Street Schools. There were considerable fluctuations in the attendance according to the respective popularity of the professors in the university and the two schools just named. There was no love lost between the university and these rivals. Into this our limits forbid us to enter. The Andersonian is still a medical school with a high reputation. The other has disappeared[4].

Though a medical incorporation had been founded in Glasgow at the end of the 16th century, and though the university was an examining and degree-granting body for nearly fifty years before there was in it practically any effective medical teaching, it was not till the middle of the 18th century that medicine was systematically taught[5]. For this there were several reasons.

[1] *University of Glasgow Old and New*, XXIII.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Glasgow University*, p. 50, 1799.

[3] *Old Statistical Account of Glasgow University*, p. 31.

[4] Duncan's *Memorials of Glasgow Faculty of Physicians*, pp. 171—3.

[5] At that time [before 1750] to serve an apprenticeship was almost the only way in which a knowledge of medicine could be acquired in Scotland. Professorships for teaching some of its branches had been established in our universities, but in none of them, except in that of Edinburgh, had a regular school for teaching medicine been as yet formed. Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, I, 3.

The Kirk was still the predominant partner in university matters, and had its main interest in the Arts Faculty as furnishing candidates for the pulpit. Another was that there was not yet an Anatomy Act, and materials for dissection were scarce. Yet another was the want of means. Stimulated probably by rivalry of Edinburgh which had a medical school in 1727, encouraged by the increase in the number of students, and stirred into life by the vigour and versatility of William Cullen and his successor Joseph Black, Glasgow was in possession of systematic, if still incomplete, medical teaching shortly after 1750[1].

In the first sixty years of the 19th century twelve new chairs, the majority of them in the Medical Faculty, were founded, viz. Natural History (1807), Surgery (1815), Midwifery (1815), Chemistry (1817), Botany (1818), Materia Medica (1831), Institutes of Medicine (1839), Forensic Medicine (1839), Civil Engineering (1840), Conveyancing (1861), English Literature (1861), Divinity and Biblical Criticism (1861)[2].

Notwithstanding the great advances made in medical equipment it must be admitted that quackery was rampant, and degrees were conferred in the most culpably loose way till early in the 19th century. Degrees were bought by absolutely illiterate people without examination or evidence of medical study. None of the universities were blameless, but Glasgow was not worse than her neighbours St Andrews and Aberdeen, which were the greatest offenders. By the College of Physicians in London, Scottish degrees were regarded with contempt, and it was a long time before even the high reputation of Edinburgh and Glasgow lived down the ill repute.

A comparison of the English and Scottish medical training furnishes no warrant for this superior contempt. In 1617 apothecaries in England were formed into a distinct corporation, and from that date the English student commenced his medical career by being apprenticed, about the age of 14, to an apothecary. Except for the few who graduated in medicine at Oxford or Cambridge, this was the only channel of approach to the

[1] Duncan's *Memorials of Glasgow Faculty of Physicians*, pp 125—8.
[2] *University of Glasgow Old and New*, XXIV.

position of licentiate. The Act of 1815 made this course imperative. The apprenticeship was originally for five years, the first of which was often spent in doing the work of a surgery boy, compounding pills and potions, running errands and so forth. During the remaining years he acquired empirically some knowledge of such medical practice as came in his master's way. After this a year's medical study in hospital or elsewhere followed by a single successful examination gave him the position of licentiate. The course was subsequently modified, three years being given to the apprenticeship, and nearly three to regular medical study, and the examination might be passed at the age of 21. In 1858 the Medical Act abolished apprenticeship, and four years were given to medical study. In Scotland the medical student seldom commenced his studies before 17, and the "changes introduced by the Act of 1858 into English medical education were, in a great measure, those which had been in operation in Scotland long before, under the influence of the three teaching universities, and the medical schools associated with them in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen[1]."

Better times were at hand. The medical professors were less tied down by tradition and the prejudices of old institutions than some of the other members of the academic body and adapted their teaching to the progress of knowledge and discovery in the subjects of botany, natural history, and chemistry. Professor Reid writing near the end of the century shows that then a position in organisation and graduation fairly similar to present day arrangements had been reached. The Arts curriculum was Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, which remained unchanged for graduation in Arts for nearly a century, the only addition being English Literature, the chair of which was not founded till 1861. Candidates for degree or entrance on the study of Theology were required to have attended the classes in the curriculum. To defend a thesis by public disputation was part of the ordeal for graduation, but it gradually became a formal proceeding, and was discontinued or made optional. Examination in all the subjects was imperative. Similarly for degrees in medicine a complete attendance at the

[1] Sir William Gairdner's Introductory Address in 1882.

medical course, and an examination public and private [probably individual and oral] on all the different branches of medicine were necessary for degree. In Theology and Law degrees were conferred *honoris causa*[1].

Professor Reid's account may be summarised by saying that after many ups and downs, the university was by favourable conjunctures prosperous, its situation satisfactory, its revenues sufficient with economy for its wants, and not so large as to encourage idleness or learned indolence, its institutions open to all, and its discipline moderate by substituting parental watchfulness for vexatious espionage.

At the end of the 18th century the number of its students was 800.

Before the passing of the Act of 1858 the business of the university was managed by three bodies—the Faculty, the Senate and the Comitia. The Faculty, consisting of the Principal and Professors of all chairs founded before 1807, administered the whole property of the university, and with the assistance of the Rector and Dean of Faculties appointed professors. The Senate consisted of the Rector, Dean of Faculties, Principal, and all Professors, including those chairs founded between 1807 and 1840. They met for conference about degrees, libraries, &c. The Comitia was the same body as the Senate with the addition of matriculated students. Meetings of the Comitia were held for the election of Rector by the four 'nations.'

Students in Arts were obliged to take classes in a certain order, passing by means of the Blackstone examination[2] from Latin to Greek, from Greek to Logic and so on, till they reached Natural Philosophy, after which they were open to examination for degree, and were called magistrands. The fees payable for graduation varied according to the circumstances of the students, and were fixed by stentmasters who ascertained their respective means. Each 'nation' named a stentmaster.

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. XXI, pp. 46, 47, 1799.

[2] This examination was meant to test in quite a gentle way how far the student's past work fitted him for entering the next class in the curriculum. It derived its name from the chair on which the student sat, part of the seat of which was a black stone.

CHAPTER XIX

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1858). ABERDEEN KING'S COLLEGE

THE century preceding the Revolution, with ever-recurring changes in staff and administration, had such an injurious influence on university life that even the stimulus of rivalry between the two universities in Aberdeen could only partially counteract it. The animosity and wrangling shown on both sides, though undignified, had probably one good result. It made them try to outstrip each other in aiming at fuller equipment of chairs, Marischal College as usual leading the way. At the beginning of the 18th century, laxity in many respects was the characteristic of King's College. Nepotism had crept in, and, to guard against suspected corruption, a commission decided that election to appointments should be settled by examination[1].

Buildings were dilapidated; no records of graduation had been kept for over ten years; the Chancellorship was vacant for twelve and the Rectorship for five years. For negligence in these latter respects the authorities cannot escape censure. These officials were not, as now, almost purely honorary, but had attached to them important functions, the performance of which was essential to efficient administration. The Chancellor was the final court of appeal in professorial quarrels, he was consulted about the filling up of vacancies, and sometimes the patronage was put in his charge.

Finances also were at a very low ebb; some of the students' rooms were ruinous, and no funds for rebuilding them were available; the conduct of bursars was unsatisfactory; gowns were

[1] Bulloch's *University of Aberdeen*, p. 133.

not worn, and public prayers not kept. Efforts to correct all this were made, but with only partial success. We find that, up to 1716, there are periods of considerable length, of which minutes were either not kept, or have been lost.

The Commission of 1690 which finished its work in 1700 insisted on the institution of a separate Greek Chair. In 1703 Bower was elected lecturer in Mathematics, but the "class turned to little account." He seems never to have taught at all, and resigned in 1717[1]. There appears to have been an attempted revival of the lectureship in 1732, but the final establishment of the Chair was not made till 1800, when Jack and Duncan were appointed Professors of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy respectively[2].

There is evidence at this time of breaches of discipline, such as riots and release of prisoners from the Tolbooth. Laxity of this kind is found in all universities, and, though calling for punishment, may have youthful folly urged as a palliative. But the circulation of scurrilous verses, holding up to ridicule the weaknesses of Professors, bodes ill for academic welfare[3].

There were also bickerings at Senatus meetings about the election of Regents. The Professors of Oriental Languages and Mathematics claimed the right to vote. The Principal denied their right, on the ground that they were not named in the original foundation. The case was taken to the Court of Session, which decided that they had the right. It would seem from this that in the Senatus matters were far from comfortable.

Queen Anne continued to show the traditional interest of the Stuarts in the northern universities, by granting, the year before her death, an annual sum of £210 sterling, to be divided equally

[1] He was to have a salary of 200 merks and "be made free of the College table during the winter session." This salary was paid from a tax on ale sold in the town. Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. II, p. 381.

[2] Bulloch's *University of Aberdeen*, p. 138.

[3] In the "Student's Liturgy" there is a "Description of the useless, needless, headless, defective, elective Masters of the King's Colledge of Aberdeen 1709." All the verses are very poor. The least offensive and, in comparison with the others, almost kindly deal with Urquhart the Mediciner.

From ane old Physick doctor that cairs not for pelf,
Thinks every man honest just like himself,
Libera nos Domine.

between King's and Marischal Colleges for the benefit of the Principals and Professors.

Here, as elsewhere, the Rebellion of 1715 was a greatly disturbing element, and doubtless injuriously affected King's College. To what extent it did so is not exactly known, owing to the absence of minutes for that year. It of course made much difference to Marischal College, because Earl Marischal was outlawed and his estates confiscated. It is known that, in 1716, students were expelled for showing sympathy with the Pretender, under the name of James VIII, by drinking his health and kindling bonfires in his honour.

In the following year a Royal Commission was appointed to visit the colleges, the result of which was the deposition of almost the whole staff, because of their Jacobite leanings. After this sweeping clearance of a body of men, whose tendency was to obstruct rather than promote progress, there followed a period of over a hundred years, during which neither commissions nor visitations gave trouble, and reform was thus facilitated. Freedom from interference allowed the authorities to think of altering both the matter and method of university study, and giving it a more popular character.

An arrangement was made in 1720 and carried out for at least one session, for the delivery of public lectures by the Regents in turn before the whole college. It does not appear that this was repeated. About this time also a munificent gift was made to the college by Dr James Fraser for repair of the dilapidation of buildings. He also made a handsome contribution of books for the library, and in his will bequeathed large sums for bursaries, a salary for the librarian, and the purchase of mathematical instruments[1].

From the middle to the end of the 18th century information about the history of the college is scanty, owing to irregular registration and recording of the minutes of the Senatus. The Rebellion of 1745 seems to have aroused little interest within the college walls, and to have been thought worthy of nothing more than an incidental and almost colourless reference.

[1] Rait's *University of Aberdeen*, p. 194.

But, though the condition of this and other universities was, at this time, in many respects far from satisfactory, there is, from the last quarter of the 17th to the end of the 18th century, no scarcity of great Scotsmen, whose names have come down to us, permanently inscribed on the roll of fame, for eminence in almost every branch of academic culture. Among the most conspicuous names connected with Aberdeen are the Gregorys—father, son, and grandsons—all of whom occupied with distinguished ability Chairs in Art, Science, or Medicine, in one or other of the Universities of St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. We have also Colin Maclaurin, a mathematician of the first rank, Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College, and afterwards in Edinburgh; Thomas Blackwell, Professor of Greek in Marischal College; James Beattie, poet, essayist, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College. Contemporary with these there are five whose names cannot be passed over—Adam Smith, the founder of Political Economy as a separate branch of human knowledge, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow; David Hume, philosopher and essayist; Lord Monboddo, who studied in Marischal College and was raised to the Bench in 1767; Thomas Reid, the head of the Scottish School of Philosophy, Professor of Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen, and afterwards of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow; and lastly Sir Walter Scott. Of these five, Monboddo and Reid alone had any connection with Aberdeen. Hume was twice an unsuccessful candidate for a Chair of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh, and of Logic in Glasgow. The list of eminent Scotsmen could be lengthened by the addition of such names as James Watt, Allan Ramsay, Boswell, biographer of Dr Johnson, Lord Hailes and Lord Kames, both of whom were raised to the Bench, and had earned a reputation beyond their native country as men of learning and capacity. Enough has perhaps been said to warrant the statement that, notwithstanding the considerable laxity which characterised some university matters at this time, the century, which has placed on its permanent roll of great names those recorded above, is one of which we have no reason to be ashamed. An estimate of the intellectual condition of the middle and end of the century would not,

however, be complete, which did not advert to the fact that the prevailing trend of thought was secular rather than religious or theological. Ecclesiastical matters had lost much of their interest and prominence, and their place had been largely taken by metaphysics, philosophy, and science, in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, and Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. While Professor Gregory's statement that "absolute dogmatic atheism was the present tone of intellectual society" was probably an exaggeration, it contained an appreciable amount of truth.

When in 1751 Thomas Reid was appointed to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in King's College, the system of 'regenting' had been abolished in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but the King's College authorities clung to the old system, and were backed up by Reid who, though he saw that the Arts curriculum required important alterations, maintained that 'regenting' had a moral influence on the students, and argued that every Regent was "a Tutor to those who study under him; has the whole direction of their studies; the training of their minds; the oversight of their manners; and it must be detrimental to a student to change his Tutor every session[1]." This view coupled with the traditional conservatism of the college probably accounts for their retention of the old system till the end of the century.

The Regents of Philosophy had come to realise the barrenness of the scholastic Logic and Metaphysics, and decided to confine their teaching to such parts of them as were practical and useful.

The bursars' work seems to have been marked by the laxity already referred to, and it became necessary to threaten them with withdrawal of their emoluments, unless they showed satisfactory proficiency in their studies. The habit of living outside the college was also increasing, and it was laid down in 1753 "that for the future all the students shall lodge in rooms within the college, and eat at the College table during the whole session." With our modern ideas, there seems to have been good reason for complaint by some students at this period about the supply of

[1] Bulloch's *University of Aberdeen*, p. 151.

food, and little wonder that it was necessary to have recourse to compulsion to make students eat at the common table[1].

The attempt to enforce residence was for a considerable time successful, but it gradually lost its force, and 1824—5 was the last session of residence. Continuous espionage at prayer, meals, and in private rooms had, as in Glasgow, become intolerable.

Up to this time the degree of M.D. had been, as in Glasgow, conferred on the recommendation of well-known doctors, but Dr Chalmers, the Mediciner, anxious to promote medical teaching, prepared an examination paper in 1789 as under.

"(1) What are the principal peculiarities in the structure of the foetus, and are there any impediments to seeing or hearing at birth? What are they?

(2) In how far may Acrimony be considered as existing in the system, and what are its effects?

(3) In what proportion of our present diseases may debility be supposed to take place, and how may it effectually be obviated?

(4) What are the advantages resulting from the Brownonian doctrine?"

Dr Chalmers with the approval of the Senatus in 1792 renewed his attempt to revive medical teaching, but he died soon after, and the proposal fell to the ground.

At this time also (1792) an attempt was made to abolish 'regenting,' but the professorial system was not adopted till 1799. In the following year somewhat stricter rules were laid down for graduation in Arts. A complete attendance at all the classes in the philosophical course was imperative, but even as late as 1826 there was no examination worthy of the name. The Professor of Natural Philosophy set a paper on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, but the commissioners say "there is no instance of anyone being prevented from taking the degree in consequence of this examination."

[1] There were two tables. For a seat at the first an additional fee had to be paid. Those who could not afford this fee sat at the second, for which the supper fare was "sowens, or bread with ale or milk," while at the first there were provided "eggs, or sowens, or roots, or pancakes, or bread and butter, or ox cheek or Finnan haddocks and ale." Rait's *Aberdeen*, p. 204. The bill of fare for dinner, though far from luxurious, was somewhat better, and varied from day to day.

Degrees in Medicine were dealt with in a much more satisfactory way in 1817. Evidence of classical, literary, and scientific education was insisted on. It was necessary that the candidate should have attended certain courses of lectures, passed certain public examinations, and produced evidence of practice signed by two physicians, graduates in Medicine. From this, it may be said, the Aberdeen Medical School took its rise, for in the following year the members of both colleges agreed to the establishment of a joint medical school[1].

The impulse towards more thorough medical education came from Marischal College. When the joint school was established there were medical classes in Marischal, but none in King's. The strong feeling of jealousy between the two colleges deprived the scheme of hearty support.

That the work of King's College was, in several respects, culpably loose, is evident from the Chancellor's finding it necessary, in 1824, to make to the Senatus the most reasonable suggestion, that the Principal, the Civilist, and the Mediciner, should discharge the several duties of teaching Divinity, Law, and Medicine, to which they had been appointed, and for which they were paid. When the Senatus conveyed this suggestion to these officials, they all with one consent began to make excuse; the Principal, that he was officially exempted from teaching Divinity, the Mediciner, that his health was bad, and the Civilist, that he was too old. The question was handed over to a committee, whose injunction to the simple discharge of duty had only the meagre result, that the Civilist gave a few lectures, and the other two did nothing. In other words the Chairs of Medicine and Law were mere sinecures.

In these circumstances, it is not matter for surprise that reasons were found for discontinuing the scheme of a joint medical school between the two colleges. The Senatus of King's charged the authorities of Marischal College with "laying aside the rules" for the conferment of medical degrees, and with other infringements of the agreement entered into; and by unanimous resolution the scheme came to an end in 1839, after being in existence for about twenty years. There is a very strong

[1] For the Articles of Agreement see Appendix A, p. 247.

presumption of an absence of uniformity in either the teaching or examination, from the fact that, between 1825 and 1839, there were only three medical degrees conferred by King's, and twenty-five by Marischal College[1].

It now became necessary for King's College to reorganise a separate medical staff for itself.

The Professorship of Medicine had just been filled by William Gregory, grandson of John Gregory who, a little less than a century before, had been Mediciner in King's College. He had taught in Dublin and Glasgow, and, after occupying the Aberdeen Chair for five years, was appointed Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh, a Chair which he occupied till his death in 1858. With the help of an energetic medical committee, of which he was the convener, he was able to advertise, for the opening of the session in October, classes for Materia Medica, Physiology, Botany, Midwifery, Surgery, and Medical Jurisprudence.

With a view to improvement of the Arts curriculum, a Parliamentary Commission was appointed in 1826, and its report was printed in 1831. By it the Rector and four assessors were constituted a Court having control over the university, and were also a Court of Appeal, whose decisions might be subject to review by the Chancellor. King's College had then an attendance of 235, of whom more than half had bursaries. The average age of entrants was 14. The classical attainments were consequently poor, and it was decided that Latin and Greek should be taught throughout the whole course thus:

Bajan year—Latin and Greek.

Semi year—Chemistry, Mathematics, Latin and Greek.

Tertian year—Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Latin and Greek.

Magistrand year—Moral Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Latin and Greek[2].

All these classes were imperative for bursars, and for others optional. The classical books to be read included, among others, Tacitus, Juvenal, Thucydides and the Greek poets. In this rearrangement of the Arts curriculum we have, in comparison

[1] Bulloch's *University of Aberdeen*, p. 187.
[2] Bulloch's *University of Aberdeen*, p. 183.

with that of the southern universities, evidence of the greater attention paid to classical learning in Aberdeen, which has been its characteristic feature throughout.

The programme for Natural and Moral Philosophy was of the same satisfactory character. Some suggestions about the comparative importance of Mathematics, Moral Philosophy and Political Economy were not carried out.

Examination was by this time fully established as the only channel by which graduation could be reached. The pitch was satisfactorily high, the subjects sufficiently numerous, and remained practically unchanged for the next forty years. One third of full marks was requisite for a pass. The candidate for a simple pass at that time had a less toilsome ascent to climb at Oxford or Cambridge than at Aberdeen.

As an encouragement to industry in the Arts classes, prizes were offered, and awarded by the votes of the students. This was found to work satisfactorily for some time, but in 1833 it was discontinued, and merit was thereafter determined by examination. The Commission of 1826 suggested increase in the amount of teaching in the junior Humanity class, and the addition of a third class in Greek, which should be optional. Both suggestions were, but only after a long delay, adopted.

The mode of electing the Rector had undergone a number of changes into which it is unnecessary to enter. After considerable discussion as to who were, according to Bishop Elphinstone's foundation, the proper electors, it was agreed after a conference between the Senatus and the graduates in 1856 that the Lord Rector should be chosen by the Masters of Arts, and that the Senatus should confirm the election so made[1]. On this occasion Lord Ellesmere was elected, and on his death in the following year, John, afterwards Lord Inglis, Lord President of the Court of Session, succeeded him and was the last Rector of King's College.

Since the donation by Queen Anne in 1713 already referred to (p. 238), a large number of valuable gifts had been made to the university, some for bursaries, some for Sunday lectures and Murtle lectures. Among the most important are the Hutton

[1] P. J. Anderson's *Officers and Graduates of King's College*, p. 21.

Foundation, and the Simpson prizes of £60 each. The Hutton for some twenty-five years after the union was awarded to the best student in Classics and Philosophy combined. It is now a philosophical prize. The Simpson prizes were awarded, one for excellence in classics, the other for excellence in mathematics, an arrangement which still holds.

The permanent union of the two colleges was completed by the Commissioners of 1858. Since 1860 they exist as the University of Aberdeen.

At the Union the buildings of both colleges were retained, Arts, Divinity and the Library being assigned to King's College, Law and Medicine to Marischal. Dr Dewar, Principal of the latter, was in poor health, and Principal Campbell of King's College became the first Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Both Chancellors, the fifth Duke of Richmond, and the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, were retained, but within three months both died, and the sixth Duke of Richmond was elected Chancellor.

In dealing with the double Chairs all the senior Professors retired. One, Clerk Maxwell, though junior Professor of Natural Philosophy in Marischal College, retired in favour of Professor Thomson his senior. This was thought to be on the appeal of Professor Thomson, who had a young family and limited means, while Clerk Maxwell had a private fortune, and probably was not at all sorry to retire.

The union made an extension of the buildings of King's College necessary, at a cost of £20,000. Six new Chairs were created, Logic, Biblical Criticism, Physiology, Materia Medica, Midwifery and Botany. Medicine was at last satisfactorily equipped. The Act of 1858 gave to Aberdeen, as to the other universities, a University Court, and a General Council, and, under the "Representation of the People (Scotland) Act," along with Glasgow, a Member of Parliament.

APPENDIX A.

Articles of Agreement for Joint Medical School.

(1) The two universities to have equal power over the Medical School.

(2) Courses of lectures to be given during the winter session on the following subjects:—Anatomy, Animal Economy, Surgery, Practice of Physic, Theory of Physic, Materia Medica, Clinical Medicine, and Midwifery, and a course of lectures on Botany during the summer.

(3) Lecturers to be appointed or confirmed before the ensuing session.

(4) The nomination of lecturers to be alternate, and the nominations of one university to be confirmed by the other.

(5) The already existing Marischal College lecturers in Anatomy, Surgery and Materia Medica to be confirmed by King's College and that body to have the first nomination of the other lecturers.

(6) The Theory and Practice of Physic to be reserved "in case the Professors of Medicine at either college should at any time wish to give courses of lectures."

(7) The lecturers to give regular courses.

(8) Appointments to be made within six months.

(9) Standing committees of both colleges to co-operate in organising and managing the school.

(10) An equal number of classes to be taught at each college; the anatomy class to meet at Marischal as hitherto.

APPENDIX B.

The minimum specified for graduation in the Senatus minute of Nov. 1834 was as under :—

Latin—Horace, *Odes*, two books; Virgil, *Aeneid*, two first books; Cicero, *Tusculan Questions*, first book.

Greek—Xenophon, *Anabasis*, first book; New Testament, two Gospels; Homer, two books.

Mathematics—Euclid, first six books; Plane Trigonometry. In Algebra, Simple and Quadratic Equations.

Chemistry—Leading doctrines of Chemistry and Geology, as taught in the class.

Natural Philosophy—Leading doctrines of Natural Philosophy, as taught in the class, or Playfair's *Outlines*.

Moral Philosophy—Leading doctrines of Moral Philosophy, as taught in the class, or Stewart's *Outlines*.

The above is practically the same as in Glasgow except that, in Glasgow, Chemistry and Geology were not specified.

CHAPTER XX

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1858). MARISCHAL COLLEGE

WE have seen in our second period that Marischal College, in its internal economy as a teaching institution, was not seriously affected by either the Restoration or the Revolution.

In 1690 parliament no doubt passed a measure making subscription to the Confession of Faith for the satisfaction of the Church, and the Oath of Allegiance for the satisfaction of the Crown, imperative on all holding office in the universities, but the effect of this was practically unfelt. To the subscription Episcopalians had little if any objection, and Presbyterians had none. The rebellion of 1715 was not yet upon them, and therefore the Oath of Allegiance was no stumbling-block. As a matter of fact there seem to have been no dismissals from the staff of Marischal College. But in another important respect a great and permanent change was effected. Hitherto the Church —whether Catholic or Protestant—had been the predominant partner in the universities. Henceforth the universities became institutions of the state.

The way was now open for carrying out the three reforms suggested by the Commissioners, which have been already referred to (p. 136), viz. the election of Professors and Regents by examination[1], a *cursus philosophicus* for all universities, and the abolition of 'regenting.' Further reference to them here is unnecessary.

[1] Ney "put in ane hatt ten little peices of paper, upon every one of which was writtine a distinct subject or head of philosophie, one of which the competitors was appoynted to draw, each of them one, and to have a discourse and sustain theses thereupon."

In another direction there was a call for vigorous action by the authorities. Near the end of the 17th century the buildings were much in want of repairs. Though part had been rebuilt by local subscription, the Senatus felt that more was needed, and an appeal to the Scots Parliament was answered by a gift of the vacant stipends of certain churches whose patronage belonged to Earl Marischal. In 1698 help was asked from the Convention of Royal Burghs, and the Commissioners gave 1200 pounds Scots (one hundred pounds sterling). In return for this they gave the Commissioners what would now be called a "cake and wine banquet[1]."

A Chair of Medicine was founded by Earl Marischal in 1700, and in 1712 part of Queen Anne's grant of £210 already referred to (p. 238) was assigned to it. The rebellion of 1715 wrought great changes in the college. Through the Earl's espousing the cause of the Stuarts he forfeited his title, and the headship of the college passed from his family. In 1717 almost all the authorities were removed, and for two sessions the college was closed. When it was re-opened, the Government claimed the patronage of the chairs which had belonged to Earl Marischal. In the same year the founding of a Greek Chair, which had been unsuccessfully attempted more than half a century before, was realised, and Colin Maclaurin was appointed Professor of Mathematics. In this, and indeed generally, Marischal College was progressive, and led the way in popularising the work of the university, and adapting it to meet the wants of other than the wealthy and professional class.

The demands made on the Principal were far from light. In the early part of the century he was expected "to be well-informed in the holy Scriptures in order to qualify him for explaining the mysteries of religion; to be well skilled in languages, especially Hebrew and Syriac, which he was to teach once a week; to illustrate, from Greek, Aristotle's *Physiology*; to explain the sacred writings one hour every Monday; to give a short explication of Anatomy; to teach the principles of

[1] In the college accounts the materials are thus recorded: "2 pounds of cours biscat, 6 ounce of fyne biscat, 5 of rough almonds, 5 pounds of raisans, 3 pints of claret, and ane choppin of ail, a pint of Canary, 7 pints of ail, whit loafs, pips, tobacco, and candle."

Geography, Chronology, and Astronomy, also the Hebrew Grammar with practical application of the rules[1]." In 1726 a most praiseworthy attempt to establish a class of experimental philosophy, covering Mechanics, Optics, Chemistry, Hydrostatics, and Husbandry, failed from want of means. Its aim was eminently practical. The class was to be conducted, "so that even those who have not made progress in Mathematics may understand some of the most useful and pleasant parts of natural philosophy, especially all sorts of machines in husbandry and common life." Next year a Chair of Oriental Languages was established. Between that date and 1741, additions were made to the buildings in the face of great poverty. Most praiseworthy efforts were made by the Senatus, who renounced part of their own interest in the college funds for the purpose. The Town Council gave their aid, and subscriptions came in from private persons in the town and country and from former students. The additions cost £700.

In 1755 'regenting,' which had been practised for more than a century, was abolished, and the following curriculum was introduced.

First year. Greek.

Second year. Greek, Latin, History Natural and Civil, along with the elements of Geography and Chronology, on which Civil History depends, Elementary Mathematics.

Third year. Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, Magnetism, Electricity, and any others which further discoveries may add; Criticism and *Belles Lettres*, Mathematics.

Fourth year. Pneumatology, or the Natural Philosophy of spirits, including the doctrine of the nature, faculties, and states of the human mind; Natural Theology, Moral Philosophy, containing Ethics, Jurisprudence, and Politics, the study of these being accompanied by the perusal of some of the best of the ancient moralists; Logic, Metaphysics.

In the new curriculum it is to be noted that Logic and Philosophy are taken up in the last, and not in the first year of academic study, as was the practice in the middle ages. Sensible reasons for this and other changes in the plan were given.

[1] Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, II, 92—4.

Attempts at the union of the two colleges were made but without success. In 1747 both unanimously agreed to, and subscribed, articles of union. The number of professors in the United College was to be that existing at King's, with the single addition of a Professor of Mathematics. The disposal of the superfluous professors was arranged for by the resignation of some, and the alternative discharge of duty by others. The only unsettled point was the locality of the new Institution. One party claimed New Aberdeen, the other Old Aberdeen as the most suitable. Neither would give way, and the proposed union fell through. Other schemes failed, and though in 1786 a fresh attempt, on what seemed a feasible plan, was proposed, King's College rejected it[1]. In 1755 residence in the college was given up and 'disputation' as an element in graduation was discontinued after 1765. An observatory in connection with the college was erected on the Castle Hill in 1781, the Town Council contributing twenty guineas for the purchase of instruments. In 1795 it was transferred to the college.

The first forty years of the 19th century seem to have been a period of academic activity. Within that period no fewer than five new lectureships were instituted—Anatomy, Midwifery, Surgery, Materia Medica, and Scots Law. The joint medical school, established between Marischal and King's College in 1818, had a Professor of Medicine and four lectureships, and in 1839 when the joint medical school was dissolved, Marischal College had teaching provided in Materia Medica, Physiology, Medical Jurisprudence, Anatomy, Midwifery, and Botany. In 1825 the degree of M.D. which, as in Glasgow, had been very loosely conferred on the recommendation of two or three medical practitioners, was obtainable only after examination.

Similarly, with regard to graduation in Arts, the authorities thought the time had come for a change. Till now nothing more was required for graduation than attendance at the classes. The defence of a thesis[2] had been gradually abandoned, and there was substituted for it an examination which was the most

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. XXI, 1799, pp. 113, 114.

[2] See Appendix for graduation theses of 1730, and programme of lectures delivered by the Professor of Civil and Natural History in 1810, p. 255.

unqualified sham. The same questions in Logic and Rhetoric were used every year, the candidates being supplied with copies of both questions and answers which they committed to memory, and, a week later, repeated in presence of the Faculty.

In these circumstances no candidate for degree was rejected. It was even rumoured that degrees were sometimes given to men who had neither attended university classes, nor passed even a formal examination. Nothing seems to have been asked but the name of the school, academy, or university the applicant had attended, and a certificate of fitness from a moral and literary point of view. It was certainly not too soon that the authorities decided that the time for a change had come. A change accordingly was made as gradually as possible, the questions set being so easy, that the candidate who failed to answer them placed himself clearly below graduation mark. Of the thirty-three who came forward as candidates, five "could not answer the simplest question," and were not allowed to graduate. Feeling aggrieved at this, and having besides some faults to find with the Senatus, they appealed to Joseph Hume, the financial reformer, recently elected Rector, who thought it necessary to hold a Rectorial Court, the first for nearly a century, to consider the complaint. He seems to have thought the students had been rather hardly treated, and recommended the Senatus to deal leniently with them.

The parliamentary commission appointed in 1826 recommended, among other suggestions, a union of the two universities, and a change in the method of teaching Latin, which had latterly been taught by a Regent as part of the History course. The report of this commission was not incorporated in an Act of Parliament, the political excitement aroused by the approach of the Reform Bill of 1832 throwing university matters into the shade. The evidence given before the commission of 1837 showed that the suggestions of the former commission had received little attention but one of its recommendations, a Chair of Church History, was furnished in 1833 by William IV. Latin was now introduced into the first year of the curriculum, and candidates for degree were examined in Latin, Greek, Civil and Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philo-

sophy and Logic, and Mathematics. This curriculum remained unchanged till the Act of 1858 was passed.

Marischal College was completely rebuilt between 1836 and 1845 at a cost of £30,000, Government, the city of Aberdeen, private individuals, the Chancellor, Rector and almost every member of the college down to the sacrist being contributors. A Chair of Humanity and Chairs of Anatomy and Surgery were founded by Queen Victoria in 1839. Medical and other Chairs were instituted. Mathematical bursaries, travelling scholarships, and gold medals were furnished by benefactors for the promotion of scholarship and research.

Between 1826 and 1860, no fewer than eight attempts were made by means of Bills or Commissions to unite the two colleges, but mutual jealousy barred the way. The conservatism of King's, and the progressive instinct of Marischal, forbade a coalition that would have prevented the scandalous waste of energy involved in two sets of professors lecturing on the same subject, each to a mere handful of students. To give details of the various schemes proposed would be tedious. Slight concessions on both sides would have resulted in a workable system. Union was at last effected in 1860, during the Rectorship and by the skill of Inglis, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, and Marischal College ceased to exist as a separate university. The difficulty connected with the existence and disposal of what was to a large extent a double set of professors was skilfully overcome. The bitterness which was felt for a considerable time has long since disappeared, under the mellowing influence of a common interest.

APPENDIX.

The earliest extant printed Thesis, the maintenance of which by the candidate was a condition of graduation, is dated 1616. It is probable that, during the intervening century, similar Theses were printed every year for both Marischal and King's Colleges. Few have survived, and soon after 1730 they ceased to be printed. The subjoined has been kindly supplied by Mr P. J. Anderson, Librarian of Aberdeen University.

(*a*) GRADUATION THESES

OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE, 1730.

DAVID VERNER: *Praeses.*

1. Omnis idea aut oritur a sensibus aut a reflectione.
2. Nulla cadit in ideis falsitas, propriè sic dicta.
3. Potentia DEI, secundum nostrum concipiendi modum, est prima possibilitatis radix.
4. Mens humana est Spiritus dependens, immaterialis, ac immortalis.
5. Mens humana semper cogitat.
6. Intellectus et Voluntas, non inter se realiter distinguuntur.
7. Voluntas semper bonum appetit, malum semper aversatur.
8. Bruta non sunt mera Automata.
9. Omnes et solae actiones liberae, earumve omissiones, sunt legis directione obnoxiae.
10. Rerum Dominium, solâ occupatione corporeâ, animo sibi habendi, ab origine acquiri, absque caeterorum hominum consensu, potuit.
11. Omnis materia sua naturâ iners est, neque ullum corpus cogitationis capax est.
12. Datur vacuum.
13. Omnis motus est proportionalis vi motrici impressae, et sit semper versus eandem plagam, quâ vis ista dirigitur.

14. Velocitates gravium, ex eadem altitudine cadentium, quando ad eandem rectam Horizontalem pervenerunt, sunt aequales.

15. Radii lucis sunt materiales, variè refringibiles et reflexibiles.

(*b*) PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

BY THE PROFESSOR OF CIVIL AND NATURAL HISTORY IN 1810.

Introductory Lecture—Four Lectures on Poetry and Ancient and Modern Versification. Ten Lectures on Chronology and Geography and Progress of Discovery.

Introduction to General History—On Government—The British Constitution, &c.

History of the more ancient nations, Egypt, &c.

History of Ancient Greece.

Literature—Eloquence—Fine Arts—Philosophy and Religion of the Greeks.

Rome from its origin to Belisarius—Literature and Antiquities.

Natural History.

Introductory Lecture.

Lecture on Chemistry, introductory to Mineralogy.

Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology, &c.

Botany and Vegetable Physiology.

Zoology—Anatomy—Animal Physiology—History of Man and of the Animal Kingdom.

Concluding Lecture.

CHAPTER XXI

THIRD PERIOD (1696 TO 1858). UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

IN our second period the history of Edinburgh University in its leading features was described up to the time when Carstares appears on the scene in 1693. Though ten years were to elapse before he had official connection with the university, his influence with King William III, whose chaplain he was, was so predominant that he was popularly called 'Cardinal Carstares. He took the keenest and most beneficent interest in university matters, and obtained from the King a grant of £1200 which was divided equally among the four universities. His aim at filling the Scottish theological chairs with eminent foreigners under whom he had studied was not successful. His failure in this was not followed by relaxation of interest in the university. With the grant above-mentioned each of the universities was to be provided with an additional Professor of Divinity and theological bursaries. The arrangement for Edinburgh was that the Professor should receive £100 a year, and that bursaries of £10 each should be provided for twenty students in Theology. A Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History was accordingly appointed in 1702, the Town Council, in order not to prejudice the character of the Institution as being one of municipal origin, making a merely formal protest against the title 'Regius.' It was found in 1707 that the twenty bursaries had furnished a sufficient supply of ministers, and Queen Anne (by whose advice does not appear) thought it better that the twenty bursaries should be reduced to five, and a Professor of "Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations" should be founded with the £150 thus saved. This was done, and the staff now consisted of four

ecclesiastical Professors, one of them being Principal, Professors of Public Law and Mathematics, four Regents of Philosophy and a Regent of Humanity—in all eleven.

Before this, students in search of instruction in legal science resorted to Leyden, Utrecht, and other foreign universities, returning, after a year or two, to give their fellow-countrymen the benefit of what they had learned abroad. But they were private teachers, and taught their pupils sometimes in their own houses, sometimes in taverns or attics in the High Street or Canongate, their studies often moistened by more or less liberal potations. In 1698 an Act of the Scots Parliament appointed Alexander Cunningham to a bogus Professorship of Civil Law. But he did not, and was not asked to, teach Civil Law[1].

Chalmers informs us that John Spottiswoode "had the honour of being the first who opened Schools, in his own house indeed, for teaching professedly the Roman and the Scottish Laws, which he continued to teach at Edinburgh, though not in the university, for six and twenty years[2]." He was followed by James Craig, who lectured privately on Civil Law for several years, and was elected in 1710 Professor of that subject, but without salary for the first seven years. For an account of the strained relations between the Town Council and Professors and Regents, as to their legal rights in respect of the Chancellorship, the claims of the college to be a university, the right of certain Professors to style themselves "the Faculty of Philosophy," the legality of private graduations[3], &c. we must refer the reader to Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, pp. 234—247. It is not far wrong to say that the Professors were aggressive, and in some respects mutinous, and that the Town Council, as patrons, were perhaps unduly sensitive as to encroachments on their rights. Mutual concessions would have been profitable for both. At

[1] Grant's *Story of Edin. Univ.*, I, p. 361. In an Appendix too long for quotation it is shown how illusive was the Professorship, promoted mainly by the Duke of Queensberry, to whose family Cunningham had been tutor.

[2] Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman* (1795), p. 35.

[3] The practice with regard to graduation seems to have been loose. In 1695 an honorary degree in Civil Law, a subject not taught in the college, was conferred on a man of whom the only record is that he gratefully paid £15 to the Library. By the Act of 1621 Edinburgh was simply a College of Arts and Theology.

the beginning of the 18th century however it was legally settled that the Town Council had absolute powers over the college, and certificates of graduation bore that the Town Council were patrons.

While a country is engaged in struggles for civil and religious liberty, educational progress can scarcely fail to be unfavourably affected. That the frequent changes in the staff of the university, consequent on the Restoration and Revolution, exercised a retarding influence is beyond question, but they did not produce any organic alterations. The number of students seems not to have been reduced. The majority were Covenanters who, after the manner of students in religious partisanship, took to occasional rioting, and zealously burnt the effigy of the Pope without serious consequences. But early in the 18th century organic changes were made. Greek, which the Visitation Commission of 1699 in vain recommended to be under the charge of a specialised Professor, was, by the act of the Town Council in 1708, assigned to such a Professor. Passing through the Greek class, however, was not necessary for a student who wished to take the Philosophy course at once. This act provided that the Faculty of Arts should consist of specialised Professors.

The following is the curriculum laid down for Arts.

I. "The class of the Professor of Humanity (now restricted to Latin) remained at the bottom, but it was no longer infra-academical. It constituted the first year of the Arts course, and, from 1710 onwards, the students belonging to it were matriculated, which the pupils of the Regent of Humanity never had been.

II. Next came the class of the Professor of Greek. This was called the Bajan class from old associations, though it was now properly the class for second year students. But persons coming from other universities, or who, on examination, showed the requisite proficiency, might pass over both the Humanity and Greek classes. A similar practice had been allowed long previously under the regenting system. Those who on entrance were placed in the second, third, or fourth year class, were called *supervenientes*, and they were often very numerous.

III. Then came the class of the Professor of Logic, which, as being next above the Bajans, was now called the Semi class. It was the third year's course for an ordinary student, and the first of the two years to be devoted to Philosophy.

IV. Finally there was the Natural Philosophy or Magistrand class, which conducted the student to his degree[1]."

Up to 1708 graduation was by most regarded as the natural crown of a completed curriculum. Thereafter the custom changed. For this there were several reasons. The abolition of regenting took away any motive for encouraging it from all but the Professor of Natural Philosophy, who alone got laureation fees. Further, by the abolition of the entrance examination instituted by Rollock many were admitted who could not face the ordeal of an examination. As contributory to this, it must be added that the grammar schools were weak, and were forbidden, by an act of the Privy Council in 1672, to teach Greek as trenching on the province of the university. The result of this was that the Professors of Latin and Greek did, in their lower classes, the work of grammar schools, traces of which still remained till well past the middle of the 19th century. In these circumstances a go-as-you-please habit, as to the number and order of classes, arose; and graduation steadily declined, till in the middle of the 18th century only one or two took the degree of Master of Arts. And yet degrees even in Oxford were not, from Lord Eldon's account, difficult to get[2].

It is clear that, except in classical learning, Edinburgh profited greatly by the adoption of the professoriate. In all the other branches of academic culture we find, in every subject, such an expansion in breadth and depth as might be expected from Professors devoting themselves each to a special subject. Colin Maclaurin gave a wider and more intellectual range to pure and applied Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy. Stewart or rather Maclaurin, for Stewart was old and incapacitated, substituted for Aristotle's *Physics*, and the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco,

[1] Sir A. Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, pp. 263—4.

[2] "I was examined," he says, "in Hebrew and History. 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?' I replied '*Golgotha*.' 'Who founded University College?' I replied that King Alfred founded it. 'Very well, Sir,' said the examiner, 'you are competent for your degree.'"

Gregory's *Optics and Astronomy*, and Newton's *Principia*[1]. Similar advances were made in Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Moral Philosophy.

To the five Professorships in the Faculty of Arts in 1708 an additional Professorship of Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* was added in 1760.

The Senatus were anxious to bring about a return to graduation, and, when some students of Philosophy in 1738 proposed to print and defend theses as a means of obtaining the degree of M.A., their offer was accepted and they got the degree. Encouraged by this, the Senatus drew up fresh rules, enacting that candidates must have given three years to Philosophy, and be publicly examined in Greek and all parts of Philosophy. This seems to have failed, probably because it made attendance on Mathematics and Moral Philosophy compulsory. They made yet another attempt by proposing that the Professor of Divinity should refuse entrance to his classes to all who had not taken a degree in Arts, but that those who had already entered should receive the degree without examination. This also was fruitless, the Professor acting probably on Knox's advice to the General Assembly at Perth in 1572[2]. The General Assembly has never insisted on graduation as imperative for divinity students. Its insistence did not go beyond stipulating that, before being licensed, every student should produce evidence of his being either a graduate, or of having given full attendance at the Arts classes prescribed by the university where he had been educated.

As the result of an inter-university discussion in 1803, it was decided that admission to the Divinity Hall must be preceded by attendance for four sessions covering Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy. It is remarkable that Mathematics, so necessary for the study of Natural Philosophy in its now extended area, is not mentioned as imperative. In

[1] It is worthy of remark that the *Principia* was taught in the Scottish universities before it was received in the English ones. Lecky's *Hist. of England in the 18th century*, vol. II, chap. v, p. 45.

[2] Laing's *Knox*, VI, p. 619, "Above all things preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the Universities...never subject the pulpit to their judgment, neither yet exempt them from your jurisdiction."

1809 Edinburgh supplemented the omission by including Mathematics. Other attempts were made to frame new rules for graduation, but nothing definite was accomplished, till the Royal Commission was appointed in 1826 and the executive Commission in 1858[1].

We have seen that, up to the beginning of the 18th century, Law had received scant attention at the hands of the university, and that budding advocates in search of legal lore betook themselves to Holland, Dutch and Scots law being both based on Roman law. Two attempts at founding a Chair of Law in 1557 (above p. 144) and in 1590 (above p. 150) were unsuccessful. In 1707 (above p. 257) a Professor of Public Law was at last appointed with a fixed salary. For the Chair of Civil Law to which Craig was appointed in 1710, and for other two chairs, for Scots law and Universal History, the Acts of 1716 and 1722 provided salaries of £100 a year. Till the end of the 18th century the Faculty of Laws was represented by three Professors of Law, and the Professor of History, whose subject was partly legal, partly historical. Early in the 19th century the Chair of Public Law was a sinecure, and was vacant for over thirty years, but was again revived under the Act of 1858.

A proposal to establish other two chairs, one for Conveyancing, and the other for Medical Jurisprudence, was unanimously opposed by the Senatus as unnecessary, and injurious to the vested rights of existing Professors. These two chairs were however, by the action of the Town Council and the Crown officers, established early in the 19th century.

In our second period some description was given of the movement in 1505, which, after a good deal of wrangling as to the respective functions and rights of Surgeons and Physicians, ended in the institution by the Town Council of the earliest surgical corporation chartered in the United Kingdom. For a long time there was great jealousy between the Surgeons who were, and the Physicians and Apothecaries who were not incorporated. The Surgeons were indignant at the attempts by the Physicians to curtail their privileges, and restrict the area of their operations as legitimate practitioners. They had

[1] Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 282.

resolved not to regard themselves as in any respect subordinate to the Physicians. It was not till 1695, when a patent was received from King William and Mary, in which the limits of Surgery and Medicine were defined in a way satisfactory to both parties, that the Physicians issued a document to the effect that, having ridden the marches with the Surgeons, they had no objection to the reunion of Surgery and Pharmacy. Till the Act of 1695, the powers of the Surgeons did not go beyond the bounds of Edinburgh, but thereafter they got power "to examine all who practised Anatomy, Surgery, and Pharmacy within the three Lothians, and the counties of Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Berwick and Fife[1]."

The commencement of the Medical School outside the university has been already referred to above. Some of the extra-mural lecturers became university Professors, and the wholesome rivalry between the extra-mural lecturer and the university Professor had a large share in the establishment of a Medical Faculty, and the creation of the now famous school of medicine.

The College of Physicians established in 1681 was followed by the College of Surgeons who got a new Royal Charter in 1694, and Anatomy began to be systematically taught, the Town Council agreeing that unclaimed dead bodies should be handed over to the lecturer on Anatomy.

The first quarter of the 18th century was a period of great activity in the Edinburgh medical world. Chairs of Anatomy, Chemistry, Medicine, and Midwifery were founded. The Town Council, under the guidance of George Drummond, the most illustrious of all the eminent Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, appreciating the whole-hearted efforts of prominent medical men to secure that Medicine, in all its branches, should be taught as fully as in any university in the world, established the Medical Faculty in 1726. To Drummond also Edinburgh owes its Royal Infirmary in 1746, and the establishment of clinical teaching so essential for the completion and success of a practical school of medicine.

Chairs of Materia Medica, and Natural History, were founded

[1] John Gairdner's *Sketch of the College of Surgeons*, p. 12.

in 1768 and 1770 respectively. Others were opposed by the Senatus on the principle of conserving vested rights. The proposal of a Chair of Surgery was for a time, but only for a time, successfully opposed in the interest of Alexander Monro *Secundus*, the Professor of Anatomy, who claimed Surgery as his province, as it had been his father's. The Town Council, by honouring this claim, and granting a new Commission which recognised him expressly as Professor of both Anatomy and Surgery to the end of his life, paid a graceful and well-deserved tribute to the brilliant success of the Monro family as great Anatomists. The same opposition was shown to a Chair of Comparative Anatomy and Veterinary Surgery, but the founding of Chairs of Clinical Surgery, Military Surgery, and Pathology were grumblingly agreed to between 1802 and 1831, when the staff of the Medical Faculty was completed with its thirteen Professors, reduced in 1856 to twelve by the suppression of Military Surgery.

Throughout this somewhat contentious period the Town Council showed admirable breadth of view and public spirit. The success of the university and the estimation in which it was held is shown by the steady, and as time went on, rapid growth of the medical graduation lists. From the establishment of the Medical Faculty in 1726, the list lengthened in a hundred years from six to one hundred and sixty medical graduates annually, "whereof fifty were Scottish, forty-six English, thirty-six Irish, and the rest from the West Indies, Canada, and other Colonies, with a few from foreign countries[1]." In 1783 a course of three years of medical study was imperative for graduation; in 1825 it was raised to four years. The conditions of graduation were specifically stated but somewhat loosely carried out.

From 1767 to 1834 the following, with some unimportant modifications, is a summarised account of the ordeal of medical graduation. The candidate faced a circumtabular body of Professors, each of whom asked him questions in Latin, which he answered in the same language. By answering in a dead language, probably imperfectly understood, a few questions without written papers or practical examination, the candidate got

[1] Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 329.

through, at a single sitting, what is now represented by the first and second professional, and the third or clinical examinations. In 1833 English took the place of Latin in both oral and written work, and, instead of the circumtabular questioning, there was a division of the subjects into two parts, the first scientific, the second professional, the examination in both parts being both written and oral. Only slight changes were made by the Commission of 1858[1].

In addition to the chairs founded between the middle of the 18th and the middle of the 19th century, there were others, which, though not strictly belonging to the Faculty of Arts, were placed there, as at that time the Faculty of Science did not exist. These were Astronomy in 1785, Agriculture in 1790, Music in 1839, and Technology in 1855. The Chair of Astronomy was from the first a failure, for the very sufficient reason that Government furnished a salary but no instruments, and the first Professor never had a class. On his death in 1828 the chair was vacant for four years. With the next appointment the office of Astronomer Royal for Scotland was combined. For the latter the Professor worked industriously with the observatory and instruments on Calton Hill which belonged to a private society, but he gave no lectures in the university. The next Professor, for a session or two, gave a course of lectures, but the attendance was very small, and the labour of lecturing by day and observing at night being too great, the former was given up. And so, for about one hundred years, the chair did almost nothing for education in the university.

In 1790 a Chair of Agriculture, the first gift to the university by a private benefactor, was founded by Sir William Pulteney. His claim to the patronage of the chair during his life was objected to by the Town Council as an encroachment on their constitutional rights. Other protests connected with it were made by the Professor of Natural History, and the Professor of Botany, each regarding the foundation of such a chair as an interference with his vested rights. Notwithstanding these protests the chair was inaugurated, and occupied by Dr Coventry for forty-one years, during which a great deal of

[1] Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 333.

very good work was done. In view of the fact that the chair was not available for graduation, an attendance ranging from 30 to 80 was rightly regarded as satisfactory. Coventry was succeeded by Professor Low in 1831, who immediately on his appointment took steps towards establishing in Edinburgh an agricultural museum. By a grant of £300 a year from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and contributions from a variety of other sources, the museum was established at a cost of £3000. An interest in agriculture was thus aroused, and the number of students increased. Professor Low was the author of some standard works on agricultural subjects, and kept in close touch with continental agricultural societies. He was succeeded by Professor John Wilson in 1854 after a service of twenty-three years.

The Chair of Music was also a private foundation by General Reid who died in 1807. The first occupant of the Chair in 1839 was Professor Thomson who died after a short tenure of office. He was followed by two eminent English composers—Bishop, for three years, and Pierson, who seems to have never presented himself in the university. So far the Music Chair had not been a success. Professor Donaldson who was appointed in 1845 found the temporary class-room incommodious, and discontinued his lectures because the room was damp and injurious to his instruments. The foundation stone of a new music room was laid in 1858. The fund left by General Reid made provision for an annual concert, which at first took shape as a musical festival, by which choruses were trained, and musical taste cultivated. For a considerable time this has been discontinued, and five or six historical concerts have annually taken its place. Students who aim at becoming professional musicians get valuable training from the present Professor Niecks, and substantial musical scholarships have been founded.

The Chair of Technology was founded at a suggestion made by the Senatus in 1852, in connection with the charge of the very valuable Natural History collections, which had outgrown the capacity of the existing museum. A proposal was made to and accepted by Government to "take them over and place them in a national museum, which should still be an addition to and an integral part of the university." They were removed and placed

temporarily in safety till the "Industrial Museum," now the Royal Scottish Museum, was built. The foundation stone was laid by Prince Albert in 1860—among the last public acts of his life. The Queen's Commission stated that it had been thought proper to appoint a Regius Professor of "Technology in the University of Edinburgh" and "that the Director of the Industrial Museum in Scotland should be *ex-officio* Professor of Technology therein[1]." George Wilson, a man of encyclopædic knowledge, was appointed in 1855. He only lived to complete a most interesting syllabus of lectures covering three years. On his death the chair was promptly suppressed; a new Director of the museum was appointed; and the Senatus found, to their great disappointment, and with a keen sense of wrong, that they had been outmanœuvred to the extent of losing a professorship and the Directorship of the Industrial Museum.

There are few things more remarkable in university history than the condition of the Faculty of Divinity in the middle of the 18th century. Theology, which bulked so largely in the mind of the Reformers, and the promotion of which was the leading motive in the very foundation of Edinburgh University, was the one subject which, amid the spirited development of Arts, Law, and Medicine, had lost its vitality. Since the founding of a Chair of Church History in 1702, its condition was one of stagnation for nearly one hundred and fifty years. Of the four Professors in that Faculty the Principal did practically nothing but supervise generally, attend university meetings, and confer degrees. The Hebrew class was optional and few attended it. The Professor of Church History lectured once a week for four months, and here too attendance was optional[2]. The Divinity lectures were the only pabulum of the student, and of them "Jupiter" Carlyle says, "the Professor, though said to be learned, was dull and tedious, insomuch that, at the end of seven years, he had only lectured half through Pictet's *Compend of Theology*," to which he adds, with scant reverence, one advantage, "he could form no school, and the students were left entirely to themselves, and naturally formed opinions far more liberal than those they

[1] Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, I, p. 355.
[2] Somerville's *My own Life and Times*, p. 18.

got from the Professor[1]." Hebrew was little known in Scotland, and, regenting being still the fashion, we find a Professor of Chemistry exchanging his subject for the teaching of Oriental languages, and a Professor of Greek undertaking the teaching of Hebrew. Theological teaching was almost everywhere dull and dreary. Here and there some Professors attempted to disturb the prevalent monotony by liberal and scholarly expression of their theological views, and for their reward were libelled for heresy. This type of Professor was fortunately not permanent. There were many excellent exceptions among their successors down to 1858, but this does not acquit the General Assembly of culpable neglect in the training of candidates for the ministry.

Having in the previous pages dealt with the equipment of the university with additional chairs up to 1858, some space may be profitably devoted to the relations between the Town Council and the Senatus.

In the first quarter of the 18th century there was a good deal of friction between the two bodies, as to their respective powers in the appointment of representatives to the General Assembly, and the assumption of authority by the General Assembly over the university. Such questions however have a political or municipal rather than an educational aspect, and do not call for detailed treatment. So far as they are educational, it may be said that the Town Council confined itself to the appointment of Principals and Professors, finance, and the erection of buildings, and left to the Senatus the regulation of studies and degrees. From 1728 to the end of the century harmony and co-operation were generally the characteristics. In 1768 the university buildings were shabby, and quite out of keeping with a flourishing and now famous institution. An effort was made to have them improved, but practically nothing was done till 1789, when the foundation stone was laid of the present building.

Early in the 19th century, there were differences of opinion between the Town Council and the Senatus on some comparatively

[1] Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 56.

unimportant points, such as matriculation and graduation fees, the appointment of a Secretary, the salary of the Librarian, &c., but the settlement of them was not difficult, nor were the consequences serious. In 1820, however, the appointment of a Professor of Moral Philosophy gave rise to a contest, the keenness of which was increased by both political considerations and the personal fitness of the two candidates between whom ultimately the struggle lay. These were Sir William Hamilton, afterwards Professor of Logic, and John Wilson, the "Christopher North" of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Both were highly distinguished Oxford students, the former a Whig, the latter a Tory. Both were Edinburgh advocates, but neither had found his *métier* in Law. Hamilton chose History and Metaphysics, Wilson devoted himself to Poetry and Literature. The struggle was a political one. A Tory Government gave Wilson its most active support, as did also Sir Walter Scott. The Whig party and press brought, against his moral character and his attitude towards religion, charges which were completely refuted by those who knew him best, and he was elected by a large majority. Though his lectures had a stronger savour of Rhetoric and *Belles-Lettres* than of Philosophy, the general estimate of his work has always been that his occupancy of the chair was inspiring, stimulative, and entirely healthy.

Another burning subject emerged in 1824—whether Midwifery should be necessary for graduation. The Senatus objected and claimed all arrangements for graduation as "*their own exclusive right*." For this there was some excuse. They felt that the university had now become a famous institution known all over the world, and recognised in Acts of Parliament; but they forgot that the powers they used were granted to them only on sufferance, and were not based on legal right, and that the Town Council had been legally declared Masters of the College in every respect. On this point the original charter was conclusive.

To settle the matter definitely, the Senatus proposed arbitration, to which the Town Council objected and proceeded to take opinion of counsel. Professedly in the interest of the students, they proposed to hold a visitation of the college. The Senatus thinking this would be injurious to discipline, petitioned Govern-

ment for a Royal Commission. The visitation however took place in 1825, and the Royal Commission was appointed in 1826. It was composed of many very eminent men, and had a much wider field than the Edinburgh disputes for the exercise of its functions.

Its task was to frame rules and ordinances for all the four universities. It was headed by Lord Aberdeen as chairman. The Senatus asked the Town Council to substitute, for their action in the Law Courts, the arbitration of the Commission, but this was found to be incompetent. At the end of three years of very hard work, the Commission issued a scheme of studies, which the Senatus wished to keep in their own hands as their special province, but omitted all reference to the constitution and government of Edinburgh University, which was the subject of prime interest and that for which the Senatus thought the Commission had been appointed.

On being informed of the disappointment caused by this omission, they formulated what seemed to them a suitable constitution. It is sufficient to state, that it was to a great extent identical with that established by the Act of 1858, and was on the whole satisfactory. The Commissioners boldly abolished some chairs in which there had never been any teaching, such as Public Law, and Practical Astronomy; others, such as Civil History and Rhetoric (the latter to be combined with Logic), in which the attendance was very small, their subjects not being necessary for degree; and Agriculture, in which there was only occasional teaching. They recommended the institution of a Chair of Political Economy, and the separation of Surgery from Anatomy. Instead of abolishing Civil History and Rhetoric, it would have been well to stimulate attention to both studies by making them necessary for graduation.

We cannot do more than advert to a few of the outstanding recommendations of this Commission, viz. that medical examinations should be conducted in English; that the teaching of Greek grammar in the college should be abolished; that entrants in the mathematical class must profess four books of Euclid and elementary Algebra; that entrants on passing a certain examination might take a three years' curriculum; that there

should be two Honours grades for B.A.; that M.A. should be taken in the following year subject to additional examination; that Professors should not examine their own pupils, but that additional examiners be appointed; and that a Chair of Biblical Criticism should be established[1].

As was to be expected the scheme met with a large amount of unfavourable criticism from all the Faculties. Some of it was just, some, as was natural from the conservative leanings of the typical university, narrow and inconsistent. Over-pressure, it was said, would either kill or enfeeble both professor and student; attendance and consequently emoluments would dwindle, and the chartered rights of universities would be infringed. While it is not difficult to get to the point of view from which, seventy years ago, these fears were entertained, it must be admitted that the scheme showed an admirable breadth of vision, the accuracy of which subsequent experience has attested. The most of its recommendations have been realised and found salutary. It was not perfect; some proposals were excellent, but they were also expensive, and there were not sufficient funds for carrying them out; some were too drastic, and imposed too much labour on both professor and student. The Senatus were wrong in objecting to an entrance examination on any terms, but it is arguable that the modern entrance examination is too severe—certainly more severe than in Cambridge or Oxford. Such an examination should not be of a pitch higher than the average secondary school can meet. Time to rise to it should be given, as proposed in the scheme, and the rise should be gradual.

The Report of the Commissioners was issued in 1830, but produced no fruit for six years. In 1837 Lord Melbourne brought in a Bill, the object of which was to make the recommendations of the Commissioners operative, but it met with such strong opposition that it was dropped, and nothing more was done till 1858.

In the Law Courts the Senatus lost their case. It was decided that the Senatus had no right of making regulations "in contradiction to the Pursuers." By this it was settled that the college

[1] Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, II, pp. 40—52.

was subordinate to the corporation of the city and Town Council.

It cannot be said that what seemed the final settlement of the respective rights of the Senatus and Town Council was a pouring of oil on troubled waters. Occasions of quarrelling were found in every direction—the appointment of a "General Secretary of the University," increase of matriculation fees, reduction of professor's fees, admission of the public to the Museum of Natural History (which the Senatus thought should be used as a place for study), interference with Sir William Hamilton's classes, and so forth. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, whenever a point arose about which two antagonistic opinions were possible, the Senatus and the Council were ranged on opposite sides. On the recognition of extra-mural teaching in medicine a keen contention arose, resulting in the opinion of counsel being taken, and the Law Courts becoming again the arena of strife. Graduation was the *casus belli*, though it was a *res judicata* in 1829. On this occasion, after decision was given against the Senatus in both divisions of the Court of Session, the House of Lords confirmed the Scottish decisions.

The expediency of an entrance examination came up again for consideration in 1847, but a definite settlement was not made till 1855. Opinions differed as to whether an entrance examination, or an examination for promotion to the senior classes in Greek and Latin, was preferable. Sensible arguments were adduced for both plans, and there seems no good reason why both should not have been adopted. Professor Blackie maintained that under an entrance examination which he had held for three years, the attendance had increased. The increase must be credited to some other cause. A barrier could scarcely lead to increase. The Town Council in 1855 ordained that the rudiments of Greek grammar, and translation of fifteen chapters of St Luke should be the entrance examination, and that anyone failing to pass it in November, might try again in February. For this in 1858 there was substituted a voluntary examination for those who aimed at a three years' course.

The ecclesiastical Disruption of 1843 split up the Town Council into two antagonistic factions, and thereafter doubts

were felt about its absolute impartiality in the election of Professors. A difficulty arose about the appointment of a Free Churchman to the Professorship of Hebrew, which, being an ecclesiastical chair, could be held only by a member of the Church of Scotland. The Senatus successfully opposed the appointment. Another Free Churchman, Rev. P. C. Macdougall, appointed in 1850 to the Chair of Moral Philosophy, was allowed to teach the class. As several lay Professors had been already admitted without taking the test, the Senatus did not insist on his taking it. By the passing of the Test Act in 1861, unquestionably a corollary of the Disruption, all difficulty was removed, and all university appointments, except Principalships and theological chairs, were open to all irrespective of Church connection.

We do not here enter into the details of Parliamentary action towards the university farther than to refer to the act which, in the face of judicious and generally sympathetic criticism, was by the ability of the then Lord Advocate Inglis passed in 1858. The ordinances made by the Commissioners appointed under that act regulated with a few changes the proceedings of the university till 1889, when important modifications and extensions which belong to our fourth period were introduced.

CHAPTER XXII

FOURTH PERIOD. PRIMARY AND OTHER SCHOOLS, AND CODE CHANGES SINCE 1872

It is to be regretted that no satisfactory attempt was made to compensate teachers for the abolition of security of tenure by the Act of 1872, or to provide for them suitable retiring allowances. All teachers appointed thereafter held their offices at the pleasure of the school-board, from whom also they might, or might not, receive a provision for old age. Whilst many boards acted generously, it cannot be denied that there were cases of harsh treatment and of unjust dismissal, that teachers beyond three-score years and ten dragged on a weary existence in office, whilst others in broken health retired to live on the bounty of friends. In 1898 an Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act was hastily passed. Its provisions are too complicated to be given in detail here. It may be enough to state that the benefits provided by it were of three kinds; the Annuity, the Superannuation Allowance, and the Disablement Allowance. Towards a deferred annuity fund every teacher who came under the provisions of this act contributed £3 per annum if a man, and £2 if a woman, forty-five years' contributions purchasing an annuity of about £39 in the former case, and of £20 in the latter. To this a superannuation allowance of ten shillings for each year of recorded service was added by the state. Disablement Allowances were granted only to those in proved need of pecuniary assistance who had become permanently incapacitated owing to infirmity of body or mind.

As the Annuities that could be purchased by the teachers in office at the passing of the act varied according to the term of

years they had to contribute before reaching the age of compulsory retirement (65), provision was made by a kind of sliding scale for an increased superannuation allowance being granted to them by the state, the total annuity plus superannuation allowance being, in the case of men, from £44 to £53, and, of women, from £36 to £38 a year.

The provisions of the act were obligatory upon every teacher certificated after 1st April, 1899, but optional to those in service before that date. School-boards retained the right of granting pensions to those who did not accept the act; but were deprived of it in the case of those who did. It is almost sad to record that eighty per cent. of the men teachers, and sixty per cent. of the women, preferred the certainty of the Department's dole to the uncertain liberality of future boards.

It was admitted in every quarter that teachers were not receiving adequate compensation for being forced to retire at the age of sixty-five, and ten years later, with the approval of all sections in Parliament, ample provision was made for their superannuation on a satisfactory scale, by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908.

The code of 1873 though enormously improved was not perfect. With a view to a more generous curriculum a wide field of specific subjects was offered for individual examination. It cannot be said that a profitable use was made of this. It certainly caused teachers to spend on smatterings of science and snippets of languages, easily crammed and quickly forgotten, an amount of time which would have been better devoted to more solid attainments in a less ambitious field. To describe in detail the many changes that have been made during the last thirty years would be tedious. It is sufficient to make a simple reference to the gradual modification of individual examination in 1886, and its abolition in 1890; to the relaxation in standard and class subjects, and payments graded according to merit; to a relief of fees, partial in 1889 and complete in 1894; to an unlimited choice of specific subjects suitable for each locality subject only to approval by the Department; to a complete change in 1893 of the whole basis on which grants were made; to an important change in the method of inspection in 1898; to

the transference of the Science and Art Department to the Scotch Education Department in 1899; to the abolition in 1901 of exemption by examination; to the establishment of Higher Grade Schools for pupils who remain up to 16, and whose aim is a commercial rather than a professional career; to the establishment in 1903 of supplementary courses for pupils between 12 and 14 who have finished a primary, and do not wish a secondary course, and who are to be employed in consolidating the knowledge already acquired so as to make it available for practical use in whatever is to be the occupation of their lives; and to the institution of continuation classes at first in evening but subsequently also in day schools, partly with a view to supply defects in the elementary education of backward pupils, but with the higher aim of providing for those who had left school the means of getting a more mature and scientific acquaintance with the principles of the employment they had chosen for their lifework. For the most of these changes we are indebted to the wise administration of Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Sir Henry Craik.

It would be rash to speak of any code as perfect; but few will hesitate to say, that the changes introduced and the additions made during the last thirty years are in the right direction, inasmuch as they make for freedom of action and elasticity. Neither teacher nor inspector now works in fetters. Discretionary power, which cannot be eliminated by the most rigid rule, is freely granted, with of course necessary safeguards, and therefore with a better chance of being thoughtfully exercised. The area of the educational field has been gradually, largely, and judiciously widened. Such an education as may fit every working-man's child to face the necessities of life is, in all ordinary circumstances, within his reach, and yet it is scarcely doubtful that, in certain circumstances, the poor man's son has not so good a chance of getting a university education as he had forty years ago. On the other hand, the poor man's daughter has a better chance of making a career for herself. Her time, except in the case of the very poor, is not so valuable as the son's, and if she has the ability, she goes to the university instead of to domestic or other comparatively menial service. Many fathers cannot or will not

bear the expense of the three additional years which are now required to bring a son to the door of the university. The age of schoolboys entering the university has gone up from 16 to nearly 19 years. Hence in the Scottish universities the decrease of men students and the rapid increase of women students.

For children of more than average ability there is opened up, through skilful organisation of advanced subjects, a path by which they can climb to the higher position for which nature intended them. Whatever room there may be for difference of opinion as to details, it cannot be doubted that this is the aim of the Education Department, and that the above is an approximately correct account of the public schools, which have taken the place of the old parish schools. In outlying and sparsely populated districts university subjects are now less taught. For this there are several reasons; secondary schools and higher grade schools are more numerous; travelling facilities to educational centres are greater, and a preliminary examination for entrance into the university—higher than that for Oxford or Cambridge—makes attendance at a secondary school necessary, or at least desirable[1]. There are also now for clever boys many more outlets, for which university training is not absolutely required. Changed social conditions have necessitated the introduction of fresh subjects—higher English, Nature Study, Science, Shorthand, Drawing, French and German, &c.—in order to meet the wants of pupils who have no university aims, and to whom, as prospective skilled artisans, architects, clerks, business men, and chemists, Latin and Greek are less necessary. At the same time the lowered estimate of the value of university education for business men, architects, and chemists, and the falling off in the number of men students are somewhat disquieting features in Scottish education. In the last and previous generations, a considerable number of large farmers and merchants in Aberdeenshire had either graduated, or been at college for at least two sessions. If the new system should scare away such men, education and the men themselves will suffer, but the university still more. Hitherto, when the university has wanted money, it could always

[1] The first examination in Oxford and Cambridge is not a real preliminary examination, because many colleges can and do take men who have not passed it.

get it, for members of all classes had been through it, and in loyalty to their *alma mater* contributed handsomely. It is the general interest thus created that has enabled Aberdeen, with its small local clientele, to collect for its re-endowment a sum of £228,000, nearly twice as much as Cambridge has been able to do in approximately the same time. The women students will not, in this respect, take the place of men who have ceased to go, and the result will be a serious national loss.

While we cannot but admire the patience and fidelity, under discouraging conditions, shown by the typical old parish teacher, and are surprised that he accomplished so much, it is difficult to resist the impression, that the constant and unqualified praise which it has been customary to bestow on him has, if taken as descriptive of the whole of Scotland, been somewhat overdrawn, and is to a considerable extent a reflected glory from the Dick Bequest schools, of which a separate account is necessary. Though their history belongs to both third and fourth periods, it is more conveniently dealt with under the latter. It is beyond question that, till well towards the end of the 19th century, graduate parish schoolmasters, except in the Dick Bequest counties were comparatively rare.

Dick Bequest Schools.

A very striking proof of the superior school preparation which prevails in the Dick Bequest counties is to be found in the published results of the competition for the valuable Ferguson Scholarships. They were instituted in 1861, and were open to graduates in Arts of all the four universities. For the 48 years from 1861 to 1909 the results are the following.

	No. of Arts students.	Scholarships awarded.
St Andrews about	140	13
Glasgow „	700	29
Aberdeen „	300	44
Edinburgh „	640	55

A comparison of the approximate number of Arts students and the Scholarships awarded places Aberdeen clearly in front.

While in certain parishes in the South where the teacher was

both a sound and enthusiastic scholar, boys were sent direct from the parish school to the university in sufficient numbers to make Scotland proud of doing what has been done nowhere else, the number of such parishes is comparatively small, except in the Dick Bequest counties—Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray[1]. Why these should be placed in a different category from the others requires a short explanation.

In university matters Aberdeen was conservative, and regulated its action on the lines of the foreign universities on which it was largely modelled. Latin was consequently of great importance as being then the usual medium of communication with other universities, and also the language of diplomacy. Another reason may be found in the fact that Boece, an excellent scholar though not a trustworthy historian, was its first Principal, and in the existence of the famous "Aberdeen Doctors[2]," all great Latinists. Further, Aberdeen has had for a long time a large number of bursaries open to competition in which Latin was the most important subject, and excellence in it the certain avenue to position and honour. In Aberdeen more than elsewhere the competition day is the great day of the year. Telegrams fly all over the Dick Bequest district as to the place of the competitors in the bursary list, and the teachers of the first and other high bursars wear figuratively a feather in their caps with a natural and very healthy pride[3]. The northern boy who contemplates

[1] Though these counties are conspicuous in this respect, others elsewhere are creditably represented. Cases in point are James Beattie the poet and Thomas Reid the philosopher from parish schools in Kincardineshire in the latter half of the 18th century. They entered Marischal College, the former aged 14, the latter 12. Both became Professors of Moral Philosophy: Beattie in Aberdeen, Reid in Glasgow.

[2] This was the name given to a coterie of men, poets, scholars and theologians, who, early in the 17th century, made Aberdeen famous both at home and abroad, wherever learning was held in honour. The most prominent were Bishop Patrick Forbes, his brother, and his son, David Wedderburn, Arthur Johnston, Principal William Leslie, Dr Scroggie, Dr Sibbald, and Principal Guild. In the ecclesiastical turmoil of the times some were deposed, others banished. Gordon in *Scots Affairs* speaks of them as "eminent divynes of Aberdeen in whom fell mor learning than wes left behynde in all Scotlande besydes at that tyme."

[3] An accurate description of the bursary competition, the way in which it was conducted, and the keen interest with which the announcement of the successful competitors was waited for, is given by George Macdonald in his *Robert Falconer*, Part II, chap. v, pp. 190—2.

going to college has the gaining of a bursary before his eyes for several years. He knows he will not get it unless he wins it, and he knows that a good one will go far to clear his expenses. He is trained, pen in hand, with greater persistency than in the South, to put down the results of his study in black and white, and from this school training, followed up by plentiful written examinations at college, spring the accuracy, and the power of utilising time in examination, to which success is due. It is no disparagement of the Aberdeen University staff to say that there are as able men and as good teachers in the southern universities. The Aberdeen staff make an excellent use of the material they have to deal with, but the material is good, and the preliminary handling in school has been workmanlike.

When the writer's district as Inspector of Schools was Aberdeen and the North of Scotland, he was Classical examiner for degrees, first in Edinburgh and afterwards in Glasgow. Struck by the contrast between the lively interest felt in the Aberdeen bursary competition and the comparative apathy in Edinburgh and Glasgow, he made careful enquiry about the subsequent university record of the students who gained bursaries by competition and presentation respectively. The General Council of Glasgow University thought fit to publish in pamphlet form his remarks in support of a motion on the subject of bursaries, and he subjoins a few of the more striking facts.

"For three years the prizes in all the Art classes in Aberdeen fell to competition bursars, as follows:—

	Total Number of Prizes.	Gained by Competition Bursars.
In 1867	102	83
In 1868	103	92
In 1870	124	117

In the last of these three years only one fell to a presentation bursar.

These figures, referring as they do to all the Arts classes, are valuable as showing that competition does not reward merely those who have been well grounded in classics at school, and whose claim to success might be supposed to be simply a fine instinct for avoiding serious errors and pitfalls in versions, and

a correct habit developed into a kind of second nature, as to the proper use of *qui*, *quod*, and *quia* with the indicative or subjunctive. They prove more than this. They prove that competition brings to the front the best men—men who, as a body, carry off the honours in every class in the curriculum, and that mainly, if not entirely, because of the habits of perseverance and self-reliance springing from open competition, and from an assurance which the schoolboy who looks forward to college carries constantly about with him, even in his schoolboy days, that he has before him a fair field and no favour.

The statistics of the Greek class for the past session (1870–1) were, if possible, still more striking. The students were ranked in the following five classes :—(1) Prizemen ; (2) Order of Merit ; (3) Creditable Appearance ; (4) Respectable Appearance ; (5) Simple or Bare Pass.

The number of bursars in the first Greek class during the past year was 63. Of these 39 were competition, and 24 presentation bursars. The whole of the prizes, 11 in number, were gained by the former ; 12 stood in the order of merit ; 12 made a creditable appearance ; 4 made a respectable appearance ; and not one stood under the heading of 'passed simply.'

Looking next to the presentation bursars, we find that 11 passed simply ; only 6 made a respectable appearance ; only 3 made a creditable appearance ; only 4 stood in the order of merit ; and not one stood in the prize list.

These figures, taken as measures of the two classes of bursars, are curiously the reverse of each other. The competition bursars have all the prizes and no scratch pass. The presentation bursars have no prizes and 11 scratch passes. Arranging the figures in columns they taper off in reverse directions :—

	Pres. Bursars.	Comp. Bursars.
Prizemen	0	11
Order of Merit	4	12
Creditable Appearance	3	12
Respectable Appearance	6	4
Passed Simply	11	0
	24	39

The presentation column has its broad end (nearly half the whole number) in the less than respectable quarter, tapering off to nothing at the prize end. The competition column has its broad end among the prizes, and fines off to nothing at the simple pass." It is highly probable that an examination of the records of the two classes of bursars in the other three universities would give a similar result.

Whatever the explanation, it is certain that Latinity struck root deeper in the northern university than in the others, and it is not surprising that the teachers of the schools which were feeders of the university regarded the teaching of Latin as their first duty. In 1833 Professor Menzies, the first visitor of the Dick Bequest schools, found elementary Latin taught to a few pupils in two-thirds of the wretched school-houses described at p. 204. Arithmetic, grammar, and geography were classed as higher subjects, and separate fees were charged for them as in other parish schools all over Scotland. Considerable advance was made between 1833 and 1841, but of the 54 Dick Bequest schools visited in the latter year only 24 presented Latin pupils, few of whom went beyond the translation of Caesar. Not farther back than fifty years ago, in many of the Dick Bequest schools, those learning Latin were required to ask and answer questions and converse in Latin, as soon as they had acquired a moderate vocabulary. Another circumstance pointing in the same direction is that a large proportion of the Aberdeen students, being sons of small farmers, or other persons of narrow means, entered college with a view to becoming teachers, and so earning a living earlier than in any other profession. It is at any rate beyond doubt that Aberdeen became largely a university for teachers, to whom a degree would be useful as a means of preferment. Hence probably the remarkable fact that here, from very early times, graduation was practically the universal crown of a completed course of study.

Forty years ago no discredit attached to a student at the other universities who did not proceed to graduation, but in Aberdeen, though prior to 1826 the degree was conferred in what would now be considered a very loose way, it was, and still is, almost a disgrace not to graduate. Within the last forty years

graduation has become much more common in the other universities, and in them all is conferred on the result of an examination of considerably higher pitch than is requisite for the ordinary pass degree in Oxford or Cambridge. This is still the case, but not to the same extent as it was. The 'soft option' or wider choice of easy subjects now allowed is steadily reducing the value of the Scottish degree.

In the original scheme and till 1890, the teacher to be qualified for participation in the Bequest required to be not only a graduate, but to pass a severe examination, on the character of which, and his subsequent success as a teacher of advanced branches, his share in it largely depended. On the result of these two tests payments ranged from about £25 to £50 a year.

The graduates were usually of high mark, and their pupils often went direct to the university. It was not uncommon, and is now, owing to an examination of higher pitch, more common than formerly, for lads in rural schools to go to a grammar school for a few months, to have point and direction given to their work, as a preparation for the bursary competition, but the solid work had been done at the parish school.

Of James Dick's early years there is no authentic information. He was born in Forres in 1743, got an excellent education, and when nineteen years of age went to Kingston in Jamaica, where he entered a mercantile house, in which his ability before long gained for him a partnership. After twenty years he returned to Scotland with a large fortune. He died in 1828 bequeathing over £100,000 for the maintenance and benefit of the country parish schoolmasters in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray. The Bequest came into operation in 1833.

He gave to his Trustees full power to distribute the income of the fund in such manner as should "seem most likely to encourage active schoolmasters, and generally elevate the literary character of the parish schoolmasters and schools." The Bequest was not to be employed to relieve, in any way, the heritors or others of their legal obligations. It was not to be in any sense eleemosynary, but stimulative of effort. This instruction in his will has received the strictest attention of the Trustees, both before and after the passing of the Act of 1872.

The Trustees had a delicate task in attempting to carry out the aims of the testator in schools where the heritors, the Presbytery, the parish minister and teacher, had all a statutory position and keen interest, and where there was, on the part of those legally charged with the superintendence of the schools, a probability of friction and impatience with the interference of an alien element. Changes in the code, which followed the Act of 1872, were met by changes in the administration of the Trust, in dealing with school-boards and the Education Department, of such a kind as to safeguard the stimulative effect intended. To enter into these changes in detail would be tedious. Suffice it to say that the Bequest came unscathed through the danger to higher education from the much larger government grants earnable by elementary subjects, and that the judicious action of the Trustees under the eminently skilful guidance of Professor Laurie, the Visitor and Examiner, has given a singularly healthy impulse to all the schools. Fortunately, the utmost harmony and cooperation characterised the action of all concerned. The Presbytery reported annually, the Visitor for some time triennially, and later biennially on each school. On these reports and the character of the teacher's scholarship depended the amount of the annual award.

These were the conditions that obtained till 1890, when important changes were introduced and are still in force. These are the discontinuance of personal examination of the school by the Visitor, and of the examination of the qualifications of teachers before being placed on the list. For the former, a written examination on the higher subjects, and for the latter, a selection by the Governors have been substituted, essential conditions being that the teacher must be a graduate; must have a sufficient staff; a house and a salary of not less than £135, exclusive of the grant, which must be paid to the teacher in addition to his salary. Rural schools at a great distance from educational centres have been the objects of special attention. The distribution of the grants depends on various considerations—the locality and population of the district, the number and quality of the papers in higher subjects sent up by pupils, and the annual reports by H.M. Inspectors. Each school

receives a fixed grant of £15, and a capitation grant at such rate as the Governors may from time to time determine, in view of the number of pupils and efficient instruction in the higher subjects. This grant may not exceed £35. The amount of the fund has made it necessary to limit the number of schools on the Bequest list to 130.

The Governors have power to make special grants to school-boards of not less than £60, and not more than £200 annually, at selected centres for the development of the higher departments of their schools on certain conditions, among which is the extent to "which the grant is met by local rates, subscriptions or donations." The number of pupils in higher subjects, including mechanical drawing and science, and adequacy of staff, are taken into consideration in fixing the amount.

For several years after 1872 there was, all over Scotland, a distinct falling off in the extent to which advanced subjects were taught in parish schools, largely due to mistaken action on the part of school-boards, many of whom believed that their duties ended with providing elementary education. In 1878 the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Commission was appointed, to submit to the Scotch Education Department the conditions according to which the parliamentary grant might be most advantageously distributed for the promotion of higher education in public and state-aided schools. The result of their enquiries shows very clearly the superiority of the schools in the three north-eastern counties.

In answer to a circular issued by the Commissioners to all Scotland, three-fourths of the teachers who replied gave it as their experience, that the higher subjects of instruction were disappearing from parochial and other state-aided schools. The returns which were sent up showed the following remarkable result. The total number of those who had in 1878 passed in the three stages of the higher subjects in parochial or public schools was given as follows.

In all Scotland.

Mathematics	1595	Greek	196
Latin	3230	French	1589

Of these totals the following had passed in the three north-eastern counties within which the Dick Bequest is operative, viz. Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray.

Mathematics	240	Greek	103
Latin	793	French	224

As the counties in question contain only about a tenth of the population of Scotland, the total number of passes in Scotland (if the proportion who passed in the Dick Bequest district had been attained elsewhere), would have been:

Mathematics	2400	instead of	1595
Latin	7930	„	3230
Greek	1030	„	196
French	2240	„	1589

Again, the number of pupils studying the higher subjects beyond the *third* stage in Scotland was 1507. Of these, 408 were in the schools of the Dick Bequest district. An equal proportion in the rest of Scotland would have shown 4000 beyond the third stage, instead of 1507 as returned. The total number of scholars returned, as preparing for the university, was 574, of whom 198 were in the Dick Bequest district. Had the rest of Scotland shown the same proportion, the total number would have been 1980 instead of 574. These results seem quite conclusive as to the superiority of the parish schools in the north-east of Scotland, and bear testimony to the success with which the Dick Bequest Trust had contended with the depressing influences of the code.

But this was not all. A return of the number of elementary schoolmasters in Scotland who were graduates was also called for. The total number given in the Report[1] was 205, and of these 134 were in the Dick Bequest district. "Had the rest of Scotland been able to show a similar proportion, the total number of graduate teachers in elementary schools in Scotland would have been 1340 instead of 205[2]."

We find that within the ten years previous to 1888 "209 boys went *direct* from the parish schools to the universities, and 156

[1] *Report of Endowed Institutions Commission*, p. 201, 1881.

[2] Professor Laurie's *Dick Bequest Report*, 1890, pp. 37—8.

went to the universities after a brief stay of from three to nine months at a secondary school—in all 365; in other words, an average of more than thirty-six per annum from 122 schools scattered over the three counties, including however seven or eight central or secondary schools, such as Keith, Peterhead, &c.[1]" To these may be added 546 passes or 50·5 per annum in various examinations, Pharmaceutical, Law Agents, University, Local, Training College, and L.L.A. St Andrews. The Trustees, without relaxing their efforts for the encouragement of university subjects, think it right, in view of changed social and commercial conditions, to regard all advanced instruction beyond the compulsory standard as entitled to recognition in their estimate of school-work.

Professor Laurie in his Report for 1890 states that one-fourth of the teachers have more than £150 a year exclusive of the Bequest, and that of 123 teachers 112 are graduates and have passed the Dick Bequest examination. There is no such record elsewhere. Hence the growth of a high educational standard. In many cases school-boards have caught the prevailing spirit, and given encouragement by the appointment of pupil-teachers and assistants beyond code requirements.

We find the same influence operative in connection with autumn classes in agriculture opened by the Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh for teachers during the school vacations. A large number attended from the north-eastern counties. And on the formation in 1888 of an "Institute of Scottish Teachers of Agriculture," 93 out of 143 were from the same counties. It may therefore be claimed that, both directly and indirectly, there is no fund every shilling of which has more fully earned a shilling's worth than the Dick Bequest.

Professor Laurie summarises his estimate of the work of the Bequest up to 1889 as follows.

"The 'university' subjects have ceased to be taught in a few of the smaller rural schools, and they are either gone or going in schools within easy reach of important educational centres. But in all other parishes the results are better than ever, especially in Banffshire. The qualifications for success at the university

[1] Professor Laurie's *Report for* 1904, p. 10.

competition, however, are now higher than they used to be, and poor country boys who, twenty-five or thirty years ago, would have succeeded easily, have now increasing difficulty in doing so; and, consequently, the proportion of country boys entering the university direct from the parochial schools will be found probably (but of this I am doubtful) to be smaller than formerly. There are now, however, many outlets other than the university for clever, well-educated boys of which ample advantage is taken. The teaching of modern subjects has extended in a very remarkable way, and the number staying beyond the sixth standard has also increased. The general conclusion is that the state of the higher parochial education in the three counties, taken in the aggregate, is at present much more satisfactory than ever it was in the history of the Bequest, especially if we take into consideration the greatly improved education of girls, in which there has been a change amounting to a revolution[1]."

The regulations and schedules drawn up in connection with the new departure in 1890 kept three objects in view: "(*a*) To avoid relieving the parish rates; (*b*) to ensure such an application of the fund as would encourage the teaching of the 'higher subjects' in purely rural parishes as heretofore; (*c*) to encourage the attendance at school beyond the sixth standard of the government code[2]." The number of schools on the Bequest is 130. That the new departure has not been accompanied by less satisfactory results we learn from the report already referred to. It bears that in 1903 the average attendance at the schools on the Bequest was 21,359, of whom 2609 were in advanced classes, and, though a number of the younger pupils had not reached the age for presentation at the government leaving certificate examination, 1358 had been successful.

Junior	935
Higher	417
Honours	6

A most satisfactory account of efficient secondary work[3].

[1] Professor Laurie's *Report for* 1890, p. 56.
[2] Professor Laurie's *Report for* 1904, p. 14.
[3] Professor Laurie's *Report for* 1904, p. 16.

We find also that in 1903 the number of pupils learning secondary subjects was: Latin 2139, Greek 145, French 2139, German 311, Mathematics 1933. In Greek only is the number smaller than in 1889. In all the others it is largely increased.

We find further that during the three years (1901–4) in addition to 600 passes in non-university examinations, 91 have gone direct to the university, of whom 36 went from schools strictly rural.

The fact that more than one-third of those who have gone direct to the university went from strictly rural schools shows how necessary it is, in the case of selected pupils, and under conditions sanctioned by the inspector, to permit the substitution of one or more languages for the subjects in the supplementary courses for rural schools. In justice to the pupils of schools inconveniently distant from central schools it is desirable that the conditions of permission should be fairly elastic. Neither teacher nor pupil will be tempted to substitute languages, from any idea that they are more easily taught than the subjects outlined in the supplementary courses.

There is yet another northern Trust worthy of recognition in a history of education. Dr Milne of Bombay bequeathed to the parish schoolmasters of his native county Aberdeenshire a sum of about £50,000. The Trust was established in 1846, and had for its object the benefit of the teachers and the education of poor children. The Trustees had the selection of the teachers thought to be most deserving, and the kirk session in each parish had the nomination of the twenty-five children who were to receive free education in all the branches taught in the school and for as many years as they pleased. The teacher was to receive twenty pounds a year as an addition to his salary. This bequest, though differing from that made by Mr Dick in being mainly alimentary and charitable, was indirectly stimulative, inasmuch as the increased emoluments made the Aberdeen parish schools prizes in the profession, and were objects of ambition to many distinguished graduates. The number of schools participating in the Bequest varied, but it was often as high as eighty and ninety. High Wranglers and eminent classical scholars in Oxford and Cambridge, and officials of great distinction in the

Indian Civil Service have been the outcome of education obtained through the Dick and Milne Bequests.

The original Trust Deed of Dr Milne was superseded in 1888 by a scheme of administration prepared by Commissioners appointed under the provisions of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of 1882. By this scheme the whole rights, funds, and estates belonging to the endowment were vested in a governing body of eleven persons who, when education became free in 1889, confined themselves to fulfilling the obligation to pay off the life-interests of teachers, of whom only ten now (1906) survive to claim their £20 a year. From the accumulation of the Trust funds arising from this source the Governors have now a total income of nearly £1000 a year, which they are entitled to spend on the establishment of school bursaries of from £5 to £10 to be awarded by competition among pupils attending state-aided schools in the Milne area, viz. Aberdeenshire and the parish of Banchory-Devenick, for the encouragement of higher education. Of this permission no use has yet been made. The Governors however, in view of encroachments on the capital from unremunerative outlays, thought it better, on both financial and educational grounds, to save up the balances for use after paying off life-interests. They also, in view of the provision made by the Education Bill of 1900 for higher education, and the necessity of encouraging religious instruction for which no government grants can be received, are anxious to devote a part of their free income to the promotion of that "religious and moral instruction" which Dr Milne had "much at heart," and which he placed in the very forefront of his Trust Deed.

The Philip Bequest, confined to certain towns and parishes in Fife, had at first for its aim not so much advanced instruction, as charity for the education of poor children, but as the funds increased beyond expectation, additional schools were built and teachers' salaries increased. It seems unnecessary to refer to other parish school bequests, as few of them have any important bearing on secondary education in connection with the Act of 1872.

CHAPTER XXIII

FOURTH PERIOD. S.P.C.K. SCHOOLS FROM 1872 TO 1906

WHEN, a few years after the passing of the Act of 1872, the action of the school-boards made the schools hitherto maintained by the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge unnecessary, the Directors with the funds thus released established a system of bursaries open to competition, and tenable at secondary schools. A large number of the bursars entered the university, many of whom highly distinguished themselves. Any unused surplus was devoted to assisting youths at the university who knew Gaelic. In 1877 this surplus amounted to £250. Long before this the Society had practically ceased to have subscribers, and were only the Trustees of the accumulated funds.

This scheme was found to work on the whole well, and it was decided to withdraw the salaries from all Society schools, unless special reason could be shown for their continuance. There were however in sparsely populated districts, for which school-boards could hardly provide, many children who could be taught in their own homes, and for these itinerating teachers were temporarily supplied. In 1882, when the Educational Endowments Commission commenced their labours, the number and attainments of the competitors for school and university bursaries were very satisfactory.

During the sitting of the Commission for six years, there were no noteworthy changes in the operations of the Society. In November 1889 the number of its candidates for bursaries was 179. Its stock amounted to £185,330, four-fifths of which passed into the hands of the "Trust for Education in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland," one-fifth being left at the disposal of the Society for strictly religious purposes.

The area to which the scheme of bursaries established by the Governors of the Trust applies, covers six districts, viz. (1) Orkney and Shetland, (2) Caithness and Sutherland, (3) Ross and Cromarty, (4) Inverness, (5) Argyll, (6) Bute and specified parishes. The administrative body is admirably representative of educational interests, comprising men of eminence in the Church, University, Law, and chairmen of school-boards.

While the main aim of the scheme is the promotion of advanced education, the original intentions of the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge have not been overlooked. Satisfactory provision is made for the payment of the Society's bursaries awarded before the date of this scheme; and for the encouragement of Gaelic teaching, 5*s*. is paid for every child who is taught to read Gaelic, provided the school is in other respects efficiently taught. We have evidence of the impulse given to higher education by the Trust in the fact that, in 1904, six pupils went straight from what was formerly a parish school in Inverness-shire to the university, and that, in 1905, the first place in the bursary competitions of Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities was taken by bursars of the Trust. Further the Governors of the Trust have selected 14 schools in the Highlands and Islands at which free education will be given to all holders of bursaries awarded by the Trust, and to all candidates for bursaries who decide to compete and who gain not less than 50 per cent. of the possible marks.

In view of the decision of the House of Lords in the appeal of the General Assembly of the Free Church and others versus Lord Overtoun and others, changes were made in 1905 in the body of Governors. A number of the old Governors were re-elected, and among the new ones the Universities of St Andrews, Aberdeen and Edinburgh were represented and Sir William Turner was re-elected chairman.

Grants of £60 were paid to each of the 14 centre schools, except to two from which they were temporarily withheld for further consideration; and in one case the grant was discontinued. In the administration of the grants the Governors made sure that they were satisfactorily earned, and made careful notes of the reports of examiners and inspectors.

In 1906 the Governors decided to offer a bursary of £30 tenable for three years at the Duchess of Sutherland's Technical School at Golspie. In 1905, 78 boys and 106 girls entered the competition for school bursaries. The examination papers covered, besides the ordinary English subjects, Latin, Greek, French, German, Mathematics, Gaelic, Physics, Chemistry and Botany.

The statement and scheme submitted by the Governors for the future management of the Society were marked by wisdom, foresight, and breadth of view, characteristics recognised by their being largely adopted in the completed scheme of the Commission. Oliver Wendell Holmes in his history of the "Wonderful One-hoss-shay" remarks

> "Little of all we value here
> Wakes on the morn of its hundredth year
> Without both feeling and looking queer."

Christian and philanthropic schemes are no exception to this rule. While the Act of 1872 made changes not only desirable but imperative, there are few institutions that have stood the tear and wear of 180 years so well, or can point to a record so clean, an aim so unselfish, and an accomplishment so beneficent, as the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge in Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIV

FOURTH PERIOD (1872 TO 1907). TRAINING COLLEGES

THE history of the training colleges up to the time when the Scotch and English departments were separated has been dealt with under our third period (pp. 207—213). At that time there were only five colleges; two in Glasgow and two in Edinburgh, under the management respectively of the education committees of the Established and Free Churches, and one under the management of a committee of the Episcopal Church.

In 1874 a Church of Scotland and in 1875 a Free Church training college were established in Aberdeen, at first only for women, but in 1887 for both sexes. Both are conducted with most satisfactory results. In 1895 a Roman Catholic college for women was established at Dowanhill, Glasgow, and has proved a great success.

St George's College in Melville street, Edinburgh, founded in 1886 in connection with the High School for Girls, is the only institution in Scotland for the training of secondary teachers. Candidates for admission must be over nineteen years of age, and produce evidence of satisfactory attainments in general education. The majority have the degree of M.A. or L.L.A. They receive instruction in the college in the Theory, History, and Art of Education, and attend the university class of education in preparation for the Teacher's Diploma of Edinburgh University. Examinations in general attainments and practical skill are conducted under the superintendence of the teaching syndicate of the University of Cambridge. In both examinations the candidates are eminently successful.

In dealing with Training colleges it is not out of place to advert to the striking advance in the attainments of pupil-teachers from whose ranks the training colleges are mainly recruited.

Before 1873, when Scotland got a code of her own, the pupil-teacher (almost everywhere, except in Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, where the attainments were much higher than elsewhere, in some cases earning success in the bursary competition at the university) crowned an apprenticeship of five years by the conjugation of *posse* and *velle* in Latin, the four first rules of Algebra and Euclid I in Mathematics. He crowns it now through qualification to enter the university by means of Leaving certificates equivalent to the preliminary examination. There is corresponding advance in the equipment of the teacher. Before 1873 the panoply of the Training college student in secondary subjects was exceedingly slender. It now includes Cicero, Horace, Xenophon and Euripides in classics, and the binomial theorem, Trigonometry, Euclid I—VI, and the measurement of cylinders, spheres and cones in Mathematics. There is, in the teaching of science, the further important change in the substitution of experimental laboratory study for mere book-work. This latest change in his training is still on its trial, but its success, making as it does for initiative and elasticity, is not doubtful.

This great increase in his equipment has a very obvious connection with the scheme of joint university and normal school training, in which the present writer took an early and active interest. In the latter half of last century teachers of purely normal school training were in some cases being appointed to parish schools in Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, in which for more than a century, with very few exceptions, every teacher was a graduate, and from which boys were sent direct to the university. Fearing that the fine tradition of the parish schools in these counties would not be maintained at the former high level, he had many consultations with the Principals of the various training colleges, and sketched roughly a scheme by which university teaching might be combined with normal school training, and embodied it in his report to the Department in

1865. He reverted to it in subsequent reports, but it was not till Scotland got a code of her own, that the scheme was adopted. It has worked exceedingly well. The number of King's scholars in training in 1906 was 1395 of whom 414 were attending classes in the university, and it is safe to say that over 5000 students have during the past thirty years got a more or less complete university education.

It had been observed that for some time past the supply of candidates for pupil-teacherships was falling off; that there was a want of uniformity in their practical training, insufficient care shown in the choice of candidates, and a tendency to over-pressure from their instruction and practice in teaching being to a large extent simultaneous. It had also been observed that increase in the number of students in the eight training colleges was necessary, and in 1900 the number admissible was increased and is now (1906) 1412.

There are however other sources for the supply of teachers. In 1895 a new class, called King's students, was introduced. These receive almost the whole of their instruction in the universities, local committees being responsible for furnishing the means of their professional training. Large and steadily increasing numbers have in this way become trained teachers. In 1905 there were 333 such students in training. In order to their being admitted to university classes, it was enacted that they must either have passed the university preliminary examination or hold Leaving certificates of value equivalent to that examination. The same qualification is required of King's scholars in the training colleges.

Graduates in arts or science of any British university are another source of supply. They become certificated teachers on their satisfying such conditions as secure a specified amount of practical experience and skill in teaching, and passing satisfactorily an examination on subjects necessary for teachers but not covered by the degree they hold.

Yet another source of supply is found in acting teachers who, though they have not entered a training college, have, as pupil-teachers and afterwards as assistants, had a valuable training and enter the examination for certificate.

With a view to improve existing facilities for the training of teachers, and bring it into such close connection with universities as the attainments of students admit of, regulations in draft form were issued by the department on January 30, 1905, and submitted to the criticism of experts and others interested in education. The scope of this important and skilfully drawn minute may be summarised as follows.

There shall be established in connection with the four Scottish universities provincial committees for the training of teachers (including teachers for secondary schools). These committees will carry on the work formerly undertaken by all the training colleges whose managers consent to their being transferred to the Department. To this transference all but two have agreed, the Episcopal in Edinburgh and the Roman Catholic in Glasgow. These committees shall consist of members of the Senatus Academicus, of school-boards, of managers of secondary and technical schools, of persons actively engaged in the work of education, of representatives of the various churches which have hitherto had the management of the training colleges, and of the chief inspectors of the respective divisions as assessors of the Department. The number of members to be appointed from each of the bodies mentioned above is specified. Each committee thus constituted shall, subject to the approval of the Department, provide, in the universities or elsewhere, suitable courses of instruction, and opportunities of practical training, and shall appoint an executive officer as director of studies. These committees have been in operation since the issue of the minute. During the session of 1906 they undertook the work of the former local committees for the training of teachers. They subsequently got their officers appointed for full operation in the following session. The students in training were accordingly to consist in the main of the following classes:

Those undergoing a three years' curriculum of which university classes were to form an integral part.

Those undergoing a two years' curriculum without attending university classes.

Graduates and acting teachers were to undergo one year of training. Provision was also to be made for the training of secondary teachers and teachers of special subjects.

It was unlikely that the pupil-teacher system would long survive the effect of these regulations. But to guard against the difficulties which, during transition, accompany sudden changes, temporary and elastic provision has been carefully made over a series of years for pupil teachers and others who have to complete their training.

Under the regulations there are two classes, junior students and students in full training (senior students). Before admission junior students must have received a good general education on the level of the intermediate certificate, or one recognised as of equivalent value, and must have given evidence of fitness for the office of teacher[1]. During their course facilities for further advanced study are afforded, so far as consistent with professional training under efficient superintendence.

Admission as senior students is open to all who have obtained the junior students' certificate, and to others whether pupil-teachers, King's students, King's scholars, untrained teachers, or graduates, on their satisfying what seem reasonable and carefully considered conditions applicable to their various positions in respect of training and experience.

Students in full training obtain their practice in teaching in schools approved by the Department. The head-masters and infant mistresses assist in supervising and guiding the students, and the masters of method of the provincial committees visit the schools and keep in close touch with the work. Demonstration and model lessons are given by the teachers and masters of method, and a systematic course of criticism lessons is gone through.

By the constitution of these provincial committees, who have established courses for teachers in intermediate and secondary schools, and by the transference to the Department of the Presbyterian training colleges, an important step has been taken towards the complete nationalisation of our educational school system.

The pupil-teacher system has already to a large extent and will probably soon altogether come to an end, and its place will have been taken by another and better one, but many if not all the older

[1] The position and training of the junior and senior students and the corresponding certificates are dealt with in Appendix II, page 398.

inspectors will be disposed to say good-bye to it in a kindly and not ungrateful spirit. It was not perfect, but its imperfections were not so much inherent in the system as in the carelessness with which it was in many cases worked. The two main sources of weakness were careless choice of candidates, and neglect of practical training after they were chosen. Most of the older inspectors will agree with the writer in saying that they could name a great many schools in which they had scarcely ever found a useless pupil-teacher, and many in which they had scarcely ever found a useful one. When judiciously selected and carefully trained the pupil-teacher was a cheap and valuable member of the staff. They will also be able to name many pupil-teachers who have crowned their work by becoming head-masters of not only elementary and higher grade, but also of secondary schools.

CHAPTER XXV

FOURTH PERIOD. SECONDARY SCHOOLS FROM 1872 TO 1908

WE have seen that while praiseworthy but only moderately successful attempts were made in the 17th and 18th centuries to establish schools in every parish, higher class and burgh schools were allowed to struggle on with such aid—often scanty enough—as the Church, the Common Good of burghs and private benefactions could supply. It was not till 1872 that they received their first help—a step-motherly one—from Government, in being allowed to participate in parliamentary grants for the erection, but not for the repair, of school buildings. In 1878 the favour was slightly extended by school-boards being "empowered to pay from the school-fund such other expenses for the promotion of efficient education as are not provided for in section 62 of the Act of 1872[1]." This proved a boon less generous than it at first seemed to be, for, according to the opinion of counsel, the only expenses covered by it were the fee paid to the examiners, and the payment of retiring allowances to the teachers of higher class schools, whom the school-board might think worthy of such recognition. Unfortunately the school-board's love for higher education was not strong enough to cast out their fear of the ratepayer, and as a rule few requests were made for the offered help, though the Department when reporting on deficient accommodation constantly reminded boards of their undue timidity in this respect. The effect of placing burgh and grammar schools under the management of school-boards has been various, depending to a great extent on local conditions. In a city so fully supplied as Edinburgh with institutions of the type of the Merchant Company,

[1] Education Act, 1878, Section 18.

Heriot, and Fettes Colleges, a hard uphill fight was, for a considerable time, the fate of proprietary and private schools like the Edinburgh Academy, the Edinburgh Institution, Merchiston, and Loretto in furnishing secondary education. Much the same, but with less emphasis, may be said of other large towns like Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee. In recent years the position of many has been improved. Dundee High School, which is not under the school-board, was very prosperous till the County Committee, by granting subventions to smaller schools in the neighbourhood, withdrew from the High School the support it had formerly received from surrounding districts. It also suffered from competition with the Harris and Morgan Academies. Glasgow High School however is believed to have profited by being placed under school-board management.

It was scarcely to be expected that burgh schools generally would reap substantial benefit from being placed under the management of school-boards, whose special province was state-aided schools, and whose power of assistance to burgh schools, which most required it, was limited in the way above mentioned. There was as yet neither rate nor grant for promoting the efficiency of these schools. The "view to promote the higher education of the country" as suggested by the Acts of 1872 and 1878 was so distant and undefined, as to be practically out of sight. The connection between the school-board and the burgh school was formal rather than real. The state-aided school was the child, the burgh school the step-child of the board. The one was cared for and sometimes unduly petted, the other neglected. The one was palatially housed, but for the other meaner provision was thought good enough. It is beyond question that, but for the grants which legislation in the end of the 19th century made available for higher education, many burgh schools must have ceased to exist.

The two acts above mentioned had done little to help them, because they could not. Some assistance was got in supply of buildings, but no money to enlarge or improve their staffs. It is further to be noted that attendance in the "preparatory department," which was the natural feeder of the secondary school, was, in many cases, reduced by the attraction of the superior premises

and lower fees of the state-aided school. There was yet another circumstance unfavourable to the secondary school. Grants were offered to the primary school for individual passes in languages and mathematics. Some boards, from a praiseworthy desire to preserve the tradition of the old parish school for instruction beyond the 'beggarly elements,' made more or less successful invasions into the province of the secondary schools, and to some extent interfered with their success.

In dealing with the secondary education of our third and fourth periods, it is impossible to avoid reference to the important share taken in it by the parish schools which, according to the report of the Assistant Commissioners of 1864, furnished more than half of the entrants to the university[1]. The extent to which this is true of the parish schools of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, warrants their being considered as, to quite an appreciable extent, secondary schools. In many small burghs the schools originally, and for centuries, called "Grammar Schools" had assumed largely the character of parish schools and done mainly elementary work. On the other hand in large burghs they had developed into high schools or academies, and had fairly earned the title "secondary," but they had, as a rule, no system or organisation, and often no central source of authority[2]. The masters were practically co-ordinate, each in his own department competing for the others' pupils, as if each department was a separate school. In some cases the head-master was invested with rectorial power, but did not choose to use it. From such a system, or want of system, the best results could not be expected. The Act of 1872 furnished a remedy for this by placing all the revenues of higher class schools in a common fund, and causing the fees to be paid to the treasurer of the board, and distributed among the teachers as the board should determine. Such schools, in small burghs which had no endowments, had only fees and the Common Good to depend on, whereas the parish teacher had his statutory salary, which, though far from munificent, was sufficient to attract men fit to train students for entering the university, then barred by no entrance examination. It is not

[1] Harvey and Sellar's *Report of* 1864, III, pp. 9, 10.

[2] *Third Report of Commission of* 1875, p. 97.

surprising that, in these circumstances, the work done in the junior classes of the university was what should have been done in the secondary school. It is also probable that the existence of parish schools of this type dulled the edge of a desire for secondary schools proper. In the rural districts of the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, the need of additional secondary schools was little felt. Throughout the rest of Scotland the circumstances were different. Graduate teachers were few, emoluments smaller, and few students went direct from parish schools to university.

The changes produced by the Act of 1872 through the system of payment by results, and more complete attention to the ordinary branches in what were formerly parish schools, made it difficult, and in many cases impossible, to give as much time to the higher subjects as formerly. The gap between the ordinary school and the university was in these circumstances very considerably widened. That the immemorial connection should be, as far as possible, maintained was felt to be a patriotic duty. In order to utilise the best brains of the country from whatever social class, it was necessary that higher class schools should be made accessible to all who could make a profitable use of them. A sentence of Lord Balfour's Paisley address in 1898 is worth quoting. "If Scotland is not to fall below her traditions, she must recognise that higher education is a matter of interest to all and not merely to a few, and that every school must bear a share in what is a connected work, viz. the construction of an educational highway from the infant class to the ultimate entry upon the business of life."

No one who has read that address can have a shadow of doubt as to the profound interest, the mastery of detail, the breadth of view, and the sense of responsibility, which characterise it throughout. It is the outcome of opinions gradually formed during years of devoted attention to, and yeoman service in, the cause of education by Lord Balfour, and of constant interchange of ideas between him and Sir Henry Craik. The anomalous position of secondary schools in the education field, as compared on the one hand with primary schools well supplied with grants, and on the other with the university and its large

resources of various kinds, while secondary education—the natural connecting link between them—depended largely on fees and scanty endowments, had for years been before the eye of the educationist. The time had come for revising the wills of pious founders, and noting to what extent, under altered conditions, they were in keeping with the original intentions, and bearing satisfactory fruit.

The Merchant Company of Edinburgh in the management of their Hospitals were pioneers in the movement for reform. The history of the Company, in connection with education, goes back to 1695, when the Merchant Maiden Hospital was founded for the board and education of the female children or grandchildren "of such who are or were merchant burgesses of Edinburgh, or ministers of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith or West Church, or who have been Governors of, or benefactors to, the Hospital." After more than a hundred years the original building in Bristo Street was found to be insufficient, and in 1818 another was built in Lauriston, and after being occupied for about fifty years was sold to the Governors of George Watson's Hospital. At the same time the Hopetoun Rooms in Queen Street—now named the Edinburgh Ladies' College—were purchased by the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital.

For a short time the Company discussed the question of reform, and in 1868 took energetic action. Professional skill was called in, and a report was given by Mr (afterwards Professor) Laurie, disapproving of the monastic system as being on both moral and intellectual grounds unwholesome. The report was approved by the Committee, who thought that, if its recommendations were adopted, they would form a basis for the reorganisation of similar institutions throughout Scotland. They were adopted, and led to the Act of 1869 for the better government of Hospitals and endowed institutions, which probably suggested, in the Act of 1878, the amendment dealing with burgh schools.

Considerations of space forbid more than a general account of the Company's action. The first step in the reform was a tentative one, as when 40 foundationers of George Watson's Hospital were sent as day scholars to the High School; but it is

probably sufficient to state that, within a little more than a year after the Act of 1869 was passed, an additional Ladies' College was opened in George Square, and Provisional Orders were obtained, authorising the Governors to board out the foundationers, and convert all the Hospitals into day schools. They had five to deal with, the four most important being George Watson's and Daniel Stewart's for boys; the Edinburgh Ladies', and George Watson's for girls. The importance of the movement, so far as these colleges are concerned, may be gathered from the fact that, instead of educating about 400 foundationers, day scholars, and free scholars, there were enrolled during the first session 3400 pupils, all of whom, except 200 foundationers, were fee-paying. The attendance grew steadily, but, to meet the requirements of the Scotch Education Department, it is reduced to about 3500 in the four colleges, which are admirably staffed, and furnish every year to the university a large contingent of students, male and female, many of whom earn very high distinction. Besides the privileged class of pupils already mentioned, there are competitive foundations and bursaries in all the four colleges, giving free education and money awards ranging from £5 to £15 per annum. There are also university bursaries and other valuable prizes, for which there is always a keen and most satisfactory competition.

The schools, in addition to classical and literary culture, are well abreast of the time in science instruction, theoretical and experimental, so that under the present methods and curricula, the whole of a pupil's character receives a healthy catholic development. It is perhaps not too much to say that there are few if any schools in Great Britain which attract pupils from a wider area all over the world, or whose finished products are more widely and beneficially distributed in every civilised country, than the schools of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh.

The fifth above referred to—James Gillespie's—was originally a Hospital for indigent old men and women, and a 'Free School' for poor boys. The funds and trusts of the Hospital and Free School were united. Pensions were allotted to the Foundationers, and the building was converted into a day school, which was conducted with great success, first as a primary and latterly as

a higher grade school till 1908, when it was taken over by the school-board.

The Heriot trustees attempted to follow suit in 1871; but, in deference to a representation by upwards of 300 Edinburgh teachers, who complained of the injury done to other schools in the city by the Merchant Company's provisional order, the Home Secretary declined to issue any others till further enquiry was made. Another and successful application was made in 1885. Since then the career of Heriot's School has been marked by the same success as those of the Merchant Company. From 180 pupils it has risen to 1100; its staff and management are all that could be wished. To an excellent training in ordinary subjects there is added advanced instruction in Latin, modern languages, and scientific technical subjects. From the technical department, which is fully equipped as a science school, students go every year to the university and complete their education with marked success. The daughters of beneficiaries are all carefully educated. Those who have desire and capacity to make a profitable use of higher education receive it in the higher class Ladies' Colleges of the Merchant Company.

That reform of the hospital system was felt to be necessary, on the ground of both efficiency and economy, is shown by the fact that important hospitals generally throughout Scotland applied, or proposed to apply, for provisional orders.

Acting under the terms of his will, the trustees of Allan Glen, master wright in Glasgow, established in 1853 a school in which was given gratuitously a good practical education to about 50 boys, "sons of tradesmen or persons in the industrial classes of society." In 1872 the building was added to and accommodation provided for 150 pupils. Four years later a momentous change took place. The trustees approached parliament in 1876 and obtained "Allan Glen's Institution Act," and the school became in 1878 a fee-paying secondary school, in which a liberal education and systematic instruction in the chemical, physical, and mechanical sciences, were provided for. Free scholarships and bursaries were founded. The curricula had been determined mainly with regard to the educational needs of industrial Glasgow, and the work commenced in 1878

was, so far as Scotland is concerned, of a pronouncedly pioneer character.

In 1887 the trustees of Allan Glen were absorbed into the body of governors of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College by the commissioners appointed under the "Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act 1882," and the organisation and aims of 1876 were confirmed. The rate of progress in amount and quality of science work overtaken is indicated by the payment of grants rising from £515 in 1880 to £2940 in 1907. That the training involved in exact science has no crippling effect on liberal and professional studies seems to be demonstrated by the fact that, during the past eleven years, former pupils of this school have been awarded 144 university degrees (a large number being honours) and a correspondingly large number of first prizes and medals. While a large number of the youths trained in this institution are finding careers in engineering, manufactures, and commerce, the professions of medicine and of teaching have received many most able recruits, and many are to be found in the employment of the state, in the civil and medical services of India, the inspection of factories, &c. During the current session (1907–8) there were on the roll over 700 pupils.

In Aberdeen, Robert Gordon's Hospital, which dates from 1732, was conducted on strictly monastic lines till 1881. Boys to the number of about 120 were received into the Hospital, maintained, and educated there, until they attained the age of 15 years. A sound general education was given including, at least latterly, Latin, French, and Mathematics. The subject of Latin was indeed specially enjoined in the Deed of Foundation. In 1881 a new provisional order was obtained, under which the Governors were empowered to convert the hospital buildings, wholly or partly, into a college or day school, "in which the chief subjects of instruction shall be the English Language and Literature, History and Geography, Modern Languages, Mathematics, and the elements of Physical and Natural Science." They were also empowered to admit fee-paying day scholars. The standard of admission is that required of pupils passing from the junior to the senior division of elementary schools

(Scotch code). The college as a day school includes three departments. (1) A primary department, with 160 pupils, ending with the qualifying examination; (2) an intermediate department, with 550 pupils, organised so as to meet the requirements of the intermediate certificate examinations, the curriculum including English, Mathematics, at least one foreign language, Science, Drawing; (3) a secondary department with 170 pupils, subdivided into classical and modern sides. The classical curriculum includes both Latin and Greek; the modern gives special place to modern languages, Mathematics, and Science.

The provisional order of 1881 also conferred powers on the Governors to carry on "day or evening classes for boys, girls, and adult persons in primary, secondary, mechanical, physical or such other subjects as the Governors may from time to time consider proper or necessary." In other words they were empowered to establish schemes of technical instruction. This power they made use of in establishing evening classes, and when, a few years later, they became managers of a new school of art founded and built by John Gray, engineer, Aberdeen, they were able to take over the whole of the work of the Mechanics' Institute, and carry on an extensive scheme of instruction in subjects of science, art, and technology in connection with the old Science and Art Department, South Kensington, and the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute. A further important development of technical instruction took place in 1893, when the Governors and the school-board entered into a joint scheme for the promotion of technical instruction.

The school-board took charge of all technical work that could be overtaken in elementary and intermediate continuation classes, while the Governors took charge of the more advanced work. For this purpose the day and evening classes of the School of Art and the evening classes of the college were constituted into a central institution. In the day classes of the School of Art the course of instruction extends over four years, and students who complete the course successfully are with the approval of the Scotch Education Department awarded the diploma of the school. There are 60 students in the day classes. In the evening classes of the college and the School of Art the

courses are arranged to meet the requirements of the leading industries and crafts of the district, e.g. engineers, architects, builders, stone-cutters, wood-carvers, &c. The number of students is 700.

It is to be added that in all these changes the rights and privileges of the foundationers for whom the original trust made provision, are strictly conserved.

Not more than a passing reference is necessary or possible to such well-known institutions as the Edinburgh High School, whose history dates back to the beginning of the 12th century, the Edinburgh Academy, the Edinburgh Institution, Loretto, Merchiston, Glenalmond and Fettes College. They have all had a succession of Rectors generally of high educational reputation, and can point to long lists of distinguished pupils of which any school may be justly proud. Much the same may be said of similar institutions in Glasgow, the High School, the Academy, the Kelvinside Academy, Hutcheson's Educational Trust, Dollar Institution in Clackmannan, Montrose Academy in Forfarshire, and others in the north and south of Scotland. All have more or less broadened their curricula in keeping with the temper of the time in regard to instruction in science. In one respect Fettes College, opened in 1886, differs from all the others. By the trust deed of Sir William Fettes, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the trustees were allowed a large discretion as to the management of the bequest, and in view of the large number of Hospitals for the lower and middle classes, they decided that the children of the professional or upper middle class left insufficiently provided for were the proper objects for the benefits of the endowment. The number of the foundationers is 50, and the number of fee-paying scholars is from 170 to 180. There are no out-door or day pupils. Besides open scholarships varying in value from £30 to £60 there are 12 foundation scholarships for which only boys educated in state-aided schools or schools necessarily under government inspection can compete. The college is conducted on the lines of an English public school and has a very high reputation.

To deal in full detail with other kindred institutions would be tedious and unnecessary. Of the impulse given to the spread

and depth of advanced work in classical, commercial, and technical education it is sufficient to say that it has been eminently vigorous and healthy. The dullness almost inseparable from life under monastic rules has been banished. A spirit of emulation has been infused into the work by the admission of outside pupils. The mixture of classes has been entirely salutary. The presence of the poor but able boy, for whom hard work and success were imperative, gave a spur to the son of the well-to-do merchant, who, having no such motive for application, might be tempted into comparative idleness. Competition for bursaries has been keen and the schools have flourished. Money however was still wanted. The Endowed Schools Commission of 1872 recommended that the bursary system should commence lower down, so as to connect the primary school with the secondary[1]. Throughout Scotland about £6000 was available for bursary purposes for both primary and secondary education. About half that sum was destined for secondary schools. The majority of the bursaries were small, many doing little more than paying the school fees. Others of greater value were indifferently managed. The university bursaries were fewer and more valuable. Except in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, in the early sixties the majority were awarded by presentation, poverty being very often a condition. In many cases they were sought for their money value, from no educational aim, and given without competition simply as charitable doles to the importunate. Often the condition of going to the university was not fulfilled, the money wasted, and positive harm done. There were many exceptions who gained bursaries and some who highly distinguished themselves, but the administration was on the whole unsatisfactory, and the only genuine reform was to throw all bursaries open to competition. This was to a large extent done between twenty and thirty years later. What was wanted was a system of open bursaries leading from the primary to the secondary school, and thence to the university. Now that sound primary education is within the reach of rich and poor alike, there is generally no good reason for taking account of poverty in the award. The poor and the well-to-do boy start as a rule on

[1] Endowed Schools Commission, 1875. *Third Report*, p. 111.

equal terms except in one important respect, viz. that a well-to-do parent may provide private tuition for his son which will give him the advantage over the possibly cleverer poor boy. The secondary school and the university are not for the boy who is poor both in purse and brains. Let all bursaries be unrestricted, and a stimulus would be given to education over the whole of Scotland like that which the bursary competition in Aberdeen has given to the three Dick Bequest counties. The removal of all local restriction would doubtless bear hard on rural schools, which, though probably needing bursaries most, could not compete on equal terms with the best schools in university towns, but it would certainly be on the whole better if local restriction were less common than it is.

Zeal for higher education is not more indigenous in the Dick Bequest counties than elsewhere in Scotland. The rural character of the district, and the fewer openings into commercial life may to some extent account for the prominence given to university studies, but the difference in their educational position is mainly, perhaps entirely, due to the fact "that an education of better quality, stimulated by rewards adapted to varying degrees of merit, and judiciously organised, is ready to hand, and therefore taken advantage of. Custom has no doubt increased the demand, and this is precisely the result which every educationist would welcome as the desirable and legitimate outcome of efficient organisation[1]."

Act of 1878 *insufficient*

There was at this time (1882) a strong feeling among those interested in education, that something more than the Act of 1878 was required to remedy the anomalous and practically isolated position of secondary schools, so as to secure for the middle class a fair measure of educational justice. It was felt that the primary school satisfactorily met the wants of the poor man who had no higher ambition, and that it was no hardship for the rich man to send his son to expensive schools in England or elsewhere, but that insufficient provision was made for the

[1] *Scottish Review*, May 1883, p. 14.

poor or middle-class man of moderate means, who, though contributing largely to education rates, and aiming at higher education for his son, was obliged to be content with what could be got at a primary school. Most people will agree with the opinion that there can be no more fatal error than to contend that higher education is only for the well-to-do. It is evident that the governing class is being increasingly recruited from the middle class, and that it is politically desirable that the latter should by being well educated be fitted to contribute to the supply of wise legislation. Motives of high policy, as well as general fairness, had a large share in the education acts that followed.

The Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of 1882 which had for its object the reorganisation of endowments, which were not satisfactorily serving their original purpose, increased the attention that was being paid to higher education. It is no longer in force, but the commissioners appointed under it framed a number of useful schemes which were utilised in subsequent legislation.

It was however with the reorganisation of the Scotch Education Department in 1885 and the appointment of Mr (now Sir Henry) Craik as secretary, that secondary education became the subject of earnest and general interest, and entered on a career of reform which has been pursued with unflagging zeal to the present day. Previous to that time the Department concerned itself with only the fringe of higher education in the form of specific subjects in the primary schools. In the report for 1886 there was for the first time a distinct reference to higher class schools, especially endowed schools, and their inspection by the Department. This inspection was compulsory in terms of the Educational Endowments Act of 1882. The report of 1886 says that this will form one of the most important functions of the Department, and that the most careful consideration will be given to the future development of the system. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to minor details of administration, it must be frankly admitted that this promise has been faithfully kept with singleness of aim and sincerity of purpose. From this time secondary education has in the annual report

a distinct place, and sympathetic consideration for the adverse circumstances against which many higher schools had to struggle, —short and irregular attendance, inadequate staff, unsatisfactory buildings, antiquated methods, languidness of local voluntary effort, &c.

The inspection of secondary schools commenced in 1886, and in 1888 the institution of the Leaving certificate examination was definitely carried out by Sir Henry Craik. It was felt that no development of specific subjects could furnish a sound secondary education. It was a bold and has proved to be a most successful experiment. It has undergone, as was to be expected, a good many changes in examination details, and doubtless others suggested by experience will follow. A summary of the steps by which it has reached its present position may not be out of place.

The opinion of school-boards was asked as to the subjects which should be embraced in it, the standard which should be aimed at and the most suitable time for holding it. In short the co-operation of those acquainted with the wants and possibilities of their several districts was requested and utilised. The universities also were consulted as to how the examination might be made adequately testing, and so workably elastic, as not to impose undesirable restraint on the individuality of schools. It may be said generally that excellent results have followed its institution, and that no pains have been spared to make it a success. "In view of the strong representations made in favour of the issue of Leaving Certificates, not in single subjects, but in groups, it was in 1900 decided as a preliminary experiment to begin by issuing such grouped certificates, in addition to any issued in single subjects. These group certificates are issued to those candidates who have received higher instruction for not less than four years in some recognised school, and who have obtained, during that period, certificates of the higher grade, or in honours, in at least four subjects, of which one must be English, one an ancient or a modern foreign language, and one mathematics or, in the case of girls, higher arithmetic. Two certificates of the lower grade are, for the present, accepted in lieu of the fourth certificate of the higher

grade, and a Leaving Certificate in science may replace a certificate of the higher grade in an ancient or a modern foreign language[1]." As the result of consultation, changes have been made from year to year. Among these we find the introduction in 1902 of the intermediate certificate, which is meant to meet the case of pupils who cannot remain long enough at school to gain the Leaving certificate proper, which indicates a completed secondary course of instruction, and four years' attendance at a recognised school.

While there is considerable freedom of choice, every candidate must have had specific training in either language or science. The holder of a Leaving certificate is prepared for entering upon university study. The intermediate certificate implies fitness for commencing literary, commercial or technical study or the curriculum for junior students who represent the pupil-teachers of former days. The minimum age for the former is 17, for the latter 15. "The fundamental conditions of issue ought, therefore, to be—that the course of education to whose completion it testifies, is sound, judged by educational principles; that it has a clear aim and purpose; and that, in each subject of the course, the instruction is given by teachers of proved competency. Upon the observance of these principles my Lords now propose to insist[2]." One cannot but admire the provision made in this circular against the risk of a chance verdict on the result of examination papers, by giving "substantial weight to the opinion of the various teachers through whose hands a pupil may have passed," just as in dealing with the qualifying examination for supplementary courses the teacher's opinion about the pupil is taken into account, and in the training of students a record is kept of their work, school history and general fitness. The teachers of intermediate and secondary schools are invited to assume a proper share of responsibility for the certificates to be awarded. The deliberate judgment of the teachers as to the proficiency of candidates will be considered before an intermediate certificate is awarded or withheld.

Provision is also made for the issue of specialised courses for candidates for the army, the conditions to be fulfilled being, that

[1] *Report on Secondary Education*, 1901, p. 289.

[2] Circular 389, 1906.

the candidates must be pupils of approved schools, must be not less than 17 years of age, must have gained the intermediate certificate, and have afterwards attended for not less than one session a school having a definitely planned curriculum previously submitted to and approved by the department[1].

The development of specialised certificates—technical and commercial—in 1906 has not been so great as was expected. There has been a distinct increase in the number of candidates for the technical certificate, and fair success in gaining it. The account given of the commercial certificate is, so far, unsatisfactory. "Of eleven candidates, drawn from three schools, no fewer than ten failed to satisfy the conditions proposed by the managers and approved by the department[2]." Commercial certificates should mark the successful conclusion of a curriculum specially suited for lads who propose to enter on a business career, and are not less than 16 years of age. This certificate is to be given only to pupils in schools which have a regularly organised commercial department. The proposal of a commercial certificate doubtless owes its origin to the dissatisfaction often expressed with the defective education of merchant's apprentices. This dissatisfaction will continue, and ought not to cause either surprise or complaint. As long as merchants take, as apprentices, lads of from 13 to 14 years of age, they have themselves to blame. The evil will be cured if they will refuse such young boys, and not grudge paying a little more for older ones.

Though the Leaving certificate scheme is not yet perfect, the reports of examiners show that teaching in schools has been very beneficially influenced by it. This was certain to result from the careful examination of the papers, and the suggestions made upon them year after year. While all subjects passed under review, and were commented on with a view to removal of weaknesses, English and modern languages especially on their literary side have been, more frequently than others, unfavourably criticised. Later reports however bear that in them also there is distinct improvement. In modern languages oral examination as a test of pronunciation has been added as an

[1] Circular 392, 1906.

[2] *Report on Secondary Education*, 1906, p. 897.

element in pass or failure, and is quite as essential in assessing merit in them, as laboratory and experimental work is in scientific subjects.

With regard to both ancient and modern languages, while there is considerable room for improvement in respect of accuracy, taste, and literary appreciation, the movement is on the whole clearly a forward one. In science the examination is chiefly oral and practical, and the method, being new, is somewhat imperfectly understood by both pupils and teachers. More attention should be given to theory and the discussion of principles in connection with demonstration experiments in the laboratory. In these respects however gratifying progress is also reported.

There may be room for different opinions as to whether the anomalous and comparatively unaided condition of burgh schools of forty years ago has been completely rectified, but there can be no doubt about the very substantial advance that has been made in higher education by the conversion of monastic hospitals into public day schools, and eleemosynary doles into bursaries for open competition. Thanks to the legislation of the last quarter of a century, funds have been made available by means of which better buildings, more complete equipments, and a larger staff of teachers have been supplied. Science has taken a prominent place in education fairly in keeping with the ever-widening area of scientific pursuits, and the consequently increasing demand for skilled workers in scientific investigation. Many schools, whose very existence was in danger, have got a new lease of life, and to higher education, literary and scientific alike, a vigorous impulse has been communicated, from which excellent results may be confidently expected. The condition of the burgh school, though not yet quite satisfactory, has at any rate been greatly ameliorated. Much of this beneficent change is due to the zeal of the Education Department, from the judicious use they have on the whole made of the funds at their disposal.

One cannot read the reports on secondary education, since Sir Henry Craik took it in hand in 1885, without seeing that they show a continuous record of warm interest in the subject, and a masterly grasp of all its details. They represent twenty years

of eminently successful work. Difficulties have been courageously faced and to a most gratifying extent overcome. The hindrances were by no means small. Conflicting interests of existing schools had to be dealt with; languid local effort stimulated; undue timidity of school-boards in availing themselves of the offers made to them banished; misuse of funds by too many Town Councils and secondary committees checked; deficient staffs strengthened; unsatisfactory buildings renovated; and antiquated methods changed. Year after year, attention was directed to all these points. Suggestions for adapting bursars from state-aided schools to the curriculum of higher class schools were proposed; encouragement was given to honest effort; and judicious criticisms on weaknesses were offered in a kindly spirit. The measure of success which has attended Sir Henry's efforts is something of which he may be proud, and for which Scotland should be grateful. Commencing as he did in 1886 with the inspection of 31 secondary and preparatory schools, in 1906 the number had risen to 109. It is not a small matter that in 1903 the candidates for Leaving certificates numbered 19,509. This however was not maintained, for in 1904 the number had fallen to 19,090. No figures are published for the three subsequent years, but in 1908 we find only 10,827. This considerable decrease is to be accounted for by the abolition of lower arithmetic as a separate paper and the ruling out of schools presenting candidates in lower English and lower arithmetic only. It is worthy of note that more than a dozen university and professional authorities had already accepted the certificate in place of the preliminary examination for the university.

In Dr Struthers' report on secondary education in 1906 mention is made of this rapid development in the inspection of secondary schools during the previous quarter of a century, more than half of 109 schools being either under public management or endowed schools, while the remainder were under private management[1]. In his report for the previous year he had directed attention to the improper use, in some cases, of higher grade schools in which pupils were enrolled who had neither the education necessary for the curriculum, nor the intention of com-

[1] *Report on Secondary Education for* 1906, p. 893.

pleting the three years' attendance contemplated. It is pointed out that it is the obvious duty of the managers of both secondary and higher grade schools to work in the direction of co-operation; that, in districts where no secondary school was available, the managers of higher grade schools should advance their curriculum beyond that of an intermediate centre as far as possible in the direction of a secondary school.

In the meantime the new regulations for the training of teachers have furnished for higher grade schools work which was probably not contemplated at the time they were instituted. They furnished a three years' curriculum which had for its aim the award of the intermediate certificate, and was therefore suitable for intending junior students. This point once gained, accepted junior students would, as a rule, get their training as teachers in secondary schools, many of which are fully equipped for the purpose, or in higher grade schools approved by the Department as suitable centres for the training of junior students. The new system is as yet only on its trial, and some years must pass before its efficiency can be tested; but it is feared by many that the small amount of time that is proposed to be devoted to, or can be secured for, practically handling a class and the acquisition of good method, will, except in the case of the born teacher, be barely sufficient for effective work.

In 1887 the Technical Schools (Scotland) Act was passed. This was the first measure directly framed for giving substantial help to higher schools. Technical education however was not defined; was imperfectly and variously understood; contributions to its promotion were only permissive, and the act was practically a dead letter. It was amended by acts in 1890 and 1892.

The Technical Acts had their origin in legislation about the reduction of licences and a tax on beer and spirits. The details are complicated. It is sufficient, so far as their educational aspect is concerned, to state that the portion of revenue from this source that fell to Scotland after police superannuation, relief of fees in state-aided schools, pleuro-pneumonia, and sanitary inspection had been provided for, was permissively to be devoted to the purposes of technical education in such manner as Town and County Councils and police commissioners might determine.

It appears from a return laid before parliament that in 1892 the contribution to this purpose was £25,301, rather more than half of what was available.

The origin of the Equivalent Grant was different. It came to Scotland as an equivalent to a grant made to England in 1888 as the proceeds of probate and other duties. In England this was given to local authorities for relief of taxation. A considerable portion of Scotland's share of the same duties was devoted to the relief of school fees. By the Elementary Education Act of 1891 for England it was enacted that, out of moneys provided by parliament, a grant should be given in aid of the cost of elementary education. Scotland, on the principle of equivalents, put in a corresponding claim, but, as relief of fees had been already secured in Scotland by section 22 of the Local Government Act of 1889, the new grant of £60,000 was destined for making better provision for secondary education in urban and rural districts under minutes of the Department submitted to parliament.

That the object of the grant was the stimulation of higher education especially in burgh schools cannot be questioned. We find Lord Balfour of Burleigh in his speech at Paisley in 1898 saying: "Now let us see what was the natural object of this grant. It certainly ought to have meant that the burgh and higher schools in Scotland should be enabled to hold their own. They had no parliamentary grants. They were placed under the school-boards, but they have had no such parliamentary aid as was given to other schools. Now out of this fund surely help should be given to them."

In connection with this grant a memorandum was presented to Parliament on April 12th, 1892, which aroused great interest and much hostile criticism. Effective distribution of the grant was far from a simple matter. The interests of a great variety of schools, some charging fees of £3, others up to £15 or more, had to be considered. Little more than a guess was possible as to the number of additional pupils who, under its stimulus, might be induced to take up secondary education, but it was thought probable that the addition would be considerable. With, as was proposed, a capitation grant of £3, increased attendance, and an average fee not exceeding £3, the burgh schools whose fees were

£4 or £5 would have fared excellently, but those hitherto charging from £10 to £15 would have been ruined. Another hindrance to approval of the memorandum was the proposal that the income from local resources should not be less than £3 a head. There are few things more unlikely than that school-boards would contribute £3 a head for pupils in secondary schools, in which they had so far shown but a languid interest, limited power and a loose connection.

In consequence of the general opposition encountered by the memorandum, a parliamentary committee was appointed, with Lord Elgin for president, "to inquire into the means by which the grant may be so distributed as best to promote the efficiency of secondary education, and to open its advantages to the largest number, and, in particular, to consider whether, and, if so, with what modifications, it is expedient to follow the lines of the proposals embodied in the memorandum laid before Parliament; or whether it would be expedient to establish county committees, either adopting the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889, or some other constitution specially suited to Scotland."

The committee conceiving, no doubt correctly, that it was beyond the scope of their enquiry to give a complete account of existing provisions for secondary education, say in their report: "We have thought it better to restrict ourselves to taking sufficient evidence to enable us, in the first place, to elicit the views of qualified persons in regard to certain points raised by the memorandum, and, in the second place, to give an opportunity to public bodies, who felt their interests involved, to explain the representations with which they had favoured us[1]."

They report the opinion as practically unanimous that an average fee of £3 would impose a serious loss on many schools; that they entirely agree with the principle that localities should contribute, but that to enforce a rule of £3 a head would not in every case work fairly; and they add: "We are inclined to think that the object aimed at might be attained in a more convenient manner, if it was laid down, that the locality must in all cases provide suitable buildings from funds other than this grant, and that payment of the grant should depend on the supply of a

[1] *Report of Committee on Secondary Education*, 1892, p. 1.

fully adequate staff, and on a satisfactory report as to the curriculum and efficiency of the school[1]." Among other suggestions they recommend a grant of from £120 to £200 to burgh schools, and the appointment of county committees "for defined purposes of consultation and advice[2]."

The minute based on the report, though it greatly improved the memorandum, was strongly opposed in Parliament and withdrawn. Lord Balfour believed the opposition was due to its being "thought that too much power was given to the Department and too little to the localities."

County and burgh committees were appointed[3], and a circular was issued to them asking them to state their views upon a system of distribution of the grant. Sir George Trevelyan, then Secretary for Scotland, "wishes it to be understood, that the system on which the opinion of your committee is asked is one under which the local committee would construct a scheme guided by its own independent judgment as to the requirements of the locality[4]." It would serve no purpose to give the answers in detail. Suffice it to state that the schemes proposed by the county committees were characterised by marvellous variety, and in many cases by bad economy; that 15 accepted the responsibility of formulating schemes; and 24 preferred the scheme in the amended minute of January 1893, which the Department had issued and withdrawn. It is certainly remarkable and matter for regret, that the Department, finding the majority of the committees on the whole favourable to their amended scheme, did not adopt it rather than that of the minority.

It is obvious from a perusal of the Department's reports since 1892, that this has been to them matter for regret. Over and over again reference is made to the dissipation of the equivalent grant in small sums and for objects that are in no real sense furthering higher education. While something is to be said in

[1] *Report of Committee on Secondary Education*, 1892, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[3] For each county and for each of the burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Leith, and for the parish of Govan there shall be a committee on secondary education. Minute of May 1893.

[4] Circular 152 of Scotch Education Department, March 1, 1893.

defence of grants being paid to state-aided schools in many districts in which there are no secondary schools proper, and where many would not obtain higher education except at the schools in their neighbourhood in which a considerable amount of secondary work was done, there are many cases for which the same defence cannot be made. The heads of the Department had done all they could to check unsatisfactory use of funds clearly meant for secondary education, but their power had been limited by the unfortunate decision which allowed burgh and county committees, whose functions were meant to be consultative and advisory, to take upon themselves the much more difficult task of organising educational schemes. It cannot be denied that the Equivalent grant, through the judicious action of many burgh and county committees, has given a healthy impulse to secondary education, but there has been in many cases regrettable and inevitable waste. A grant distinctly meant for the benefit of schools which are not in receipt of parliamentary grants has been, to a considerable extent, frittered away on state-aided schools doing little or no genuinely secondary work, and, being in receipt of both grants and rates, not requiring additional stimulation. Lord Balfour in the speech already referred to put the case very clearly. "The Department has, no doubt, to approve the schemes; but the initiative lay with each locality, and it was obviously impossible for the Department to insist upon any uniform scheme, or to modify local proposals to such an extent, as would make the allocation according to the various needs of each county. The result of this was, as had been foreseen, that the tendency arose to distribute the money in small sums over too many schools. The distribution among counties having been based on population, the same principle followed the distribution amongst the various districts. No common standard was adopted, and, as a consequence, the most inadequate attempts to give higher education were often rewarded with a grant on the same terms as really valid secondary provision, towards which much local effort had been devoted. The Department has done what was in its power to counteract this dissipating tendency." These attempts however were in many cases successfully resisted, the

committees choosing in terms of their appointment "to be guided by their own independent judgment."

From the repeated references in the annual reports to this dissipation of grants, it seems tolerably clear, that the leaving to county councils the formation of schemes for promoting higher education was felt by the Department as a drag on its wheels. It is at any rate safe to say that, under its management, lessons in swimming, ambulance work, and training of a fife band, however useful in themselves, would not have been regarded as furthering the cause of higher education, as they actually were, by some county committees.

Undeterred by the self-assertive attitude of several county committees, the Department continued to show unabated interest in secondary education. In a circular of 10th June, 1897, addressed to secondary education committees, they say that, while desiring to preserve what has always been a distinctive feature in Scottish education—provision of a certain amount of secondary instruction in the ordinary school—they think there ought to be a careful selection of the schools to which higher departments should be attached, and such addition to the staff as will make the higher work real, and yet not interfere with the primary instruction. They further suggest that "such higher work should not be promoted to the injury of, or in such a way as to enter into undue competition with, any efficient higher class school, which may be available and suitable[1]." In 1899, when higher grade schools appear in the code for the first time, the character proposed to be given to them is similar to that sketched in the circular just quoted. They are to be of two kinds, predominantly higher grade (science) and higher grade (commercial) schools. Meanwhile the Act of 1901, making 14 the age up to which pupils who have no professional aims must remain at school, made preparation for the profitable employment of the years from 12 to 14 imperative, in the establishment of supplementary courses, the aim and character of which have been already referred to.

Up to 1904 inclusive, the requirements and function of the higher grade school were practically unchanged. The attendance

[1] Circular letter 10th June, 1897, p. 157.

must cover at least three years and the staff must be adequate. In the code of 1905 (art. 139) it is provided that "Pupils who have completed a three years' course according to the approved scheme, and have qualified for the award of an intermediate certificate, except as regards the requirement of a pass on the higher grade standard in some subject of the course, may either continue their studies on the lines of their previous general course, or may receive an education which is either predominantly scientific and technical, or predominantly commercial, or is specially suited for girls (household management course)." The steadily widening area of the educational field made absolutely imperative the erection of schools in which experimental science and drawing should occupy a more prominent place than in the secondary schools of the past. That they were really wanted is shown by the fact that between 1900 and 1906 the number of such schools rose from 31 to 141, of which 127 are public schools, and 14 are schools under voluntary management. At first, as might be expected, mistakes were made. It is quite clear that it was not understood that higher grade schools were not intended for pupils who meant to spend in them two years or so, but for pupils whose attendance is to continue up to 15 or 16, and who wish to have a "well-balanced course of *general* education" suitable for the requirements of pupils leaving school at that age, or for pupils who remain till 17 or 18, and wish to devote two or three years to specialised study—literary, scientific, technical or commercial[1]. The curriculum has for its basis such subjects as go to the making of a sound liberal education, to which are added subjects predominantly commercial or scientific according to the aim in view. The subjects which must be embraced in both courses are English, history, geography, higher arithmetic, and drawing. Pupils taking the higher grade science course must take the additional subjects—mathematics, experimental science, and, as a rule, some form of manual work. Those who take the higher grade commercial course must take the additional subjects—one or more modern languages, book-keeping, shorthand, and knowledge of commercial products. A large discretion was left to

[1] Circular 389, section 2.

managers in submitting courses of instruction for both boys and girls, subject to approval by the Department. This is beyond question educationally sound. Had the pupils' aim been a professional education, through the study of such subjects as have the university as their goal, they ought at the age of 12 to have entered classes in a fully equipped secondary school.

There are now few districts in Scotland in or near to which there is not a higher grade school. We have in this, as in the unquestionably healthy impulse given to advanced instruction generally, a most gratifying proof of the progress with which the movement towards secondary education commenced by Sir Henry Craik in 1885 has been carried out, and advanced by Dr Struthers who succeeded him in 1904.

But it is not in secondary education alone that, since 1898, the educational area has been widened, liberalised, and raised. In the ordinary subjects the attempts that have been made to give to attainments intelligence and permanence; to develop the whole of a child's nature; to make, morally and physically, a good citizen; to fit him not only to earn his living but to enjoy his life, have been eminently successful. Similar improvements mark such changes in the regulations for the intermediate certificate that it "becomes the natural passport which secures admission to the various specialised courses whose institution has been sanctioned in previous years." Another is the discontinuance in 1907 of 'honours grade' in the Leaving certificate for two reasons, (1) that the 'group system' has made it unnecessary, and (2) that its tendency was towards overpressure.

The Department, dissatisfied with the administration by the town and county councils of the funds at their disposal for the promotion of technical education, provided for an extended representation of such local authorities as were willing to entrust the administration to the secondary committees. The distribution of the Residue grant by local authorities was voluntary, and up to this time largely misapplied. The act requires that, for instruction in subjects other than those specified in the science and art directory, the sanction of the Department must be got. This sanction had rarely if ever been applied for. A large part

of the funds had been expended for purposes which had little if any connection with science or art, and on elementary instruction for which sufficient provision was made by local rates and parliamentary grants. The extended representation was entirely salutary. Except where the town and county councils entrusted the administration to the secondary committees, science and art have got little help from the Residue grant.

As to the distribution of the £60,000 set apart for secondary education by the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1892 a fairly typical example may be given. For the year ended March 31st, 1900, £4700 was expended on the inspection of higher class public schools, and on the cost of holding the Leaving certificate examination. Of the remaining £55,300 about £35,000 was paid in direct subsidies in nearly equal amounts to higher class schools and secondary departments of state-aided schools, the greater part of the remainder being allocated for capitation grants and bursaries.

Sir Henry Craik in his report for 1899 refers to the further funds placed at the disposal of the Department by the Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1898 for the benefit of higher class schools. He thinks these schools are the proper recipients of such aid, especially as the claims of scientific teaching are rapidly advancing, and the supply of adequate apparatus and properly qualified teachers can hardly be met by unaided local effort[1]. This help is the more welcome because the transference of science and art administration to the Scotch Education Department has led to an important development of the Leaving certificate examination by including in it some science subjects.

At this time the administration of the grants for science and art was sadly wanting in organisation. The subjects were taught in a desultory way, much like specific subjects, and without definite aim, except that of earning grants. It was necessary to distinguish between science and art subjects as parts of a regular curriculum, and isolated subjects in which lads who had left school were interested or which they hoped to find useful. For the former the day school, for the latter the evening

[1] *Report on Secondary Education*, 1899, p. 259.

continuation school was the proper place. It was also thought that science teaching should include experimental investigation of fundamental principles in the laboratory, and practical applications of them. Later on, effect was given to this system.

In the distribution of the further funds above mentioned a small fixed sum was by the minute of April 27, 1899, awarded to the schools approved as recipients. This sum was increased according to the number of pupils over 12 years of age in average attendance and to the proportion which the expenditure on higher class schools from the rates bore to the total valuation of the district. In 1901 the maximum and minimum grants for each school were fixed at £750 and £300, and were to be devoted to improvement of staff and equipment, and were exclusively for the benefit of higher class schools, secondary or technical, that were not in receipt of grants under the Scotch code[1]. While liberty of suggestion is given to school managers, the department must be satisfied that the money shall be expended in such a way as to increase the efficiency of the school. Among other permissible objects of expenditure is the payment of the expenses of teachers going to France or Germany with a view to more thorough knowledge of these languages. By another clause of the minute any residue is put aside for the establishment of a central fund from which new, or the extension of existing, buildings may be supplied. Between 1901 and 1904 about £19,000 was expended from this fund on technical institutions in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Leith.

Under a minute of May 30, 1903, further funds for the encouragement of the teaching of science and art were furnished to the amount of nearly £14,000. There has been on the whole gratifying progress in science teaching. A healthy impulse has been given to it in schools by the acceptance of science in lieu of dynamics in the university preliminary examination.

Up to 1901 there had been two sets of technical classes—one under the provisions of the code for evening schools, the other under the provisions of the science and art directory. These classes were conducted on a plan which did not sufficiently differentiate the work done in the two classes, and which

[1] *Report on Secondary Education*, 1901, p. 285.

involved risk of duplication of grants. To remedy this a uniform set of regulations was drawn up in the continuation class code, taking cognisance of all forms of technical instruction from the elementary to the higher work in selected central institutions, which may be called industrial universities. The conditions on which these grants are paid in respect of premises, equipment, time-tables, regulation of classes, and qualification of teachers give ample security against duplication of grants and for sound scientific instruction.

In 1906 there were ten central institutions, viz.:

I. Aberdeen and North of Scotland College of Agriculture.

II. Aberdeen Gordon's College and Gray's School of Art.

III. Dundee Technical Institute.

IV. Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture.

V. Edinburgh Heriot-Watt College.

VI. Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

VII. Glasgow Athenaeum Commercial College.

VIII. Glasgow School of Art.

IX. Leith Nautical College.

X. The West of Scotland Agricultural College (including Kilmarnock Dairy School).

To these must now be added the recently-erected Edinburgh College of Art.

CONTINUATION CLASSES.

Prior to the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 there were comparatively few evening schools in Scotland. Their existence, as a rule, was very intermittent, and the instruction they gave of a very elementary nature. In session 1873–4—the transition year from the regime of the churches to that of the school-boards—only 3209 pupils were presented for examination in all the evening schools of Scotland. It will scarcely be credited that of these 1134 were presented in Standard I, the meagre requirements of which 270 failed to pass. Only 63 were presented in Standard VI.

As soon as the school-boards got into working order progress began to be made: but it was not until session 1886–7 that scholars in evening schools ceased to be presented in Standards I and II. In that year 6885 evening scholars were examined; 2063 being in Standard VI, exactly 2000 more than in 1873–4. Shortly thereafter specific subjects were included in the evening school curriculum, and in 1893 evening schools under the fostering care of the Department came to have a code of their own, and to be known as continuation classes.

A great development took place. In 1897–8 over 95,000 pupils were enrolled, but the average attendance scarcely reached 52,000. The number enrolled in 1906–7 was over 100,000, which is very satisfactory when it is remembered that in the intervening year the limit for compulsory attendance at school had been raised from 13 to 14 years of age.

Four divisions in continuation classes are recognised by the department.

Division I consists of pupils no longer compelled to attend school, who wish to complete their general elementary education.

Division II is open to pupils over 16, or to pupils under 16 who give satisfactory evidence of their fitness to profit by specialized elementary instruction in one or more of a large number of subjects such as English, languages, mathematics, scientific and commercial subjects, cookery and laundry work.

Division III includes classes for advanced specialised instruction, which may take the form of commercial and literary

courses, or of instruction in any crafts, industries, and occupations, as art and art crafts, engineering, naval architecture, navigation, textile and chemical industries, women's industries, agriculture and rural industries, and many others.

Division IV seems more recreative than educational. Under it are included physical exercises, military drill, wood-carving, vocal music, and fancy needlework.

Continuation classes need not meet in the evening, when drowsy pupils are least able to profit by instruction, and weary teachers least able to give it. They may be held at any hour of the day, and are open to all pupils who have left school, there being no upward limit of age. The best work is done in Divisions II and III, in which also there is by far the largest attendance.

It is to be regretted that there are hardly any continuation classes in purely agricultural districts, and that all over the country the percentage of pupils from 14 to 16 years of age attending such classes is very small. It must be borne in mind that distances from school are often great, and that farming work is hard and not favourable to continuation school work. On the other hand it is matter for congratulation that substantial progress has been achieved, that under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, school-boards have new powers to enforce attendance, that an effort is being made to have the pupils trained in a well balanced curriculum instead of taking single subjects, and that by a system of bursaries the department is aiming at linking on continuation classes to the great central institutions to which reference has been already made, and which, in the form of agricultural, technical, art or commercial colleges, are to be found in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, Govan, and other large centres throughout the country. The interest that some employers are taking in the attendance of their apprentices at continuation classes, is a valuable example which it may be anticipated will be widely copied. Were this interest general, youths of 14 to 17 would attend continuation classes as naturally as those under 14 attend a day school, and the more capable or the more eager would take full advantage of the splendidly

equipped central institutions established or being established in our land.

In the report for 1904 attention is directed to the serious danger of over-pressure which is steadily increasing. It is impossible to condemn too strongly the over-pressure which must result from spending five or six hours in the preparation of home-lessons. The strain implied in this is much beyond what the average boy or girl can stand. If, which is probable, keen competition for university bursaries is the cause, it is difficult to suggest a remedy except in the common-sense of parents and teachers. Bursaries gained on these terms cost far too much. It is probably in connection with bursaries that over-pressure is caused. The ambitious boy must get the bursary, and to get it he must work for it. A comparison of the Leaving certificate examination papers of a dozen years ago with those of to-day shows an almost astounding increase of difficulty. The Department have recognised this and endeavoured to prevent over-pressure by fixing 15 and 17 as the ages for the intermediate and leaving certificates respectively, with which it is impossible to find fault. The increased difficulty has reasonably kept pace with the distinct advance in education all round.

While the skilful and initiative enterprise of the Department are worthy of the heartiest approval, and their educational theories are sound and healthily progressive, it is impossible to ignore the existence among teachers and managers of a feeling that their zeal is in some respects characterised by undue haste; that changes inherently and unquestionably good are followed by others also good and probably better, but separated from the former by intervals somewhat too short for their results to be fairly estimated. Whatever room there may be for differences of opinion as to this, there can be none about the general movement being one of steady and striking progress. A comparison of secondary education now, with its condition thirty years ago, warrants a verdict of unanimous approval in every direction—school architecture, ventilation, furniture, organisation, conversion of hospitals into fee-paying schools, an increase of specialist teachers and inspectors, of Higher Grade Schools, and

greatly improved character of the instruction. The traditional method of teaching classics has been largely and beneficially altered; a living language is now seldom taught as a dead tongue; and Mathematics has become both more practical and more interesting. While Science and Art are essential in the curriculum of any school claiming the grant, the teacher will not be tempted to give them undue prominence, because the grant will depend on the whole work of the school, and so check the evil of over-pressure. In every subject there is earnest and skilful striving after the best methods.

The heartiest recognition must be accorded to the fact that, since 1885, the sound development of an excellent scheme has been kept steadily in view, with the result that the Department have now, thanks partly to the stimulative influence of the Leaving certificate, and largely also to the application of the Scotland (Education) Fund, established a beneficent regulation and supervision of secondary education, such as Scotland has never had till now, and for which she ought to be and is grateful.

CHAPTER XXVI

FOURTH PERIOD. UNIVERSITIES

THE Act of 1872, as an outstanding feature in the history of education, has been dealt with as the starting-point of our fourth school period from that date to the present time. The Act of 1858, as conspicuous for its influence on university, as that of 1872 on school life, has been chosen as the commencement of our fourth university period.

There are two great landmarks in the history of the Scottish universities, the remodelling which they underwent in 1858 and again in 1889. Before 1858 in all the universities, except Edinburgh, the administration was in the hands of the Senatus Academicus. In Edinburgh it was largely in the hands of the municipality. The commissioners of 1858 were instructed to have special regard to the several reports which followed the visits of the commissions between 1826 and 1857. These instructions were faithfully carried out, and resulted in the excellent Act of 1858, which may be said to have nationalised the Scottish universities. The ordinances passed under it practically regulated the action of them all for more than thirty years.

By the Act of 1858 larger powers were given to the Senatus, and the University Court and General Council were instituted. Henceforth in Glasgow and Aberdeen the Rector was as hitherto elected by the matriculated students divided into four 'nations,' but in Edinburgh and St Andrews in such manner as the commissioners might determine. The functions of the faculty were divided between the Senate and the University Court.

To this Court, consisting of the Rector, Principal (and in Edinburgh the Lord Provost, in Glasgow the Dean of Faculties), and four assessors, was transferred the appointment of professors. It is more correct to say that the Crown's patronage was retained, and that the Town's went to the Curators. The Court had charge of the revenue and pecuniary concerns generally, the regulation of fees, and internal arrangements. The General Council consisted of the Chancellor, University Court, the professors, graduates and others who had attended four sessions[1]. It met twice a year and made representations to the Court on any questions affecting the welfare of the university. By the Ordinance of 1858 bursaries were revised, new professorships were founded, and provision was made for assistants to professors and examiners for degrees. The order in which classes were to be taken was left to the student's choice, and the subjects of examination for degrees were arranged in three departments in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but in St Andrews and Aberdeen there were four departments, chemistry being compulsory in the former, natural history in the latter. The subjects might be taken in any order, the result of which was a large increase in graduation and in the number of students.

This concession to individual tastes and requirements, while necessary and in some respects desirable, was by many thought to be not an unmixed good, inasmuch as it affected injuriously the unbroken social intercourse that formerly existed among young men engaged in common pursuits and studies during their residence at the university[2]. The experience of thirty years and the investigation of the commission of 1876 brought to light a number of facts clearly suggesting the expediency of further legislation.

One of the aims of the Act of 1858 was increase of graduation, and giving to graduates, through their General Councils, an interest, and, to that extent, a share in university administration. Through the institution of University Courts, the somewhat

[1] As graduation had (except in Aberdeen) gone much out of fashion, registration in the General Council was granted to all who had, prior to 1861, completed four sessions, at least two of them being in the Faculty of Arts.

[2] *University of Glasgow Old and New*, XXV—XXVII.

close professorial atmosphere was freshened and vitalised by a wholesome current of ventilation from without. Other aims were increase of professors' emoluments and the appointment of assistants and additional professors. On this subject the municipal origin of the University of Edinburgh necessitated exceptional treatment. The appointment to professorships, which up to this time had been in the hands of the Town Council, was now to be transferred to the University Court. In this matter the Town Council had used their power on the whole well, and naturally objected to its being taken from them. But in view of the squabbling between the municipality and the Senatus which, with faults on both sides, had characterised a considerable part of the 18th and 19th centuries, and which sectarian feeling, aroused by the ecclesiastical disruption of 1843, would tend to foster while interfering with wholesome administration, a moderate check on the autocracy of the Town Council was thought desirable. A compromise was accordingly adopted which assigned the patronage of the university to seven curators, four of whom were to be nominated by the Town Council, and three by the University Court.

It was certainly better that the influence of the Town Council in making appointments to chairs should be exercised in this way than by compelling candidates to canvass thirty representatives of city wards. It was further ordained that the Rector was to be elected by the students, and the Chancellor by the graduates or General Council. In the House of Commons a permissive clause was proposed by Mr Gladstone that the four universities should take the form of 'colleges' of a central university, which should conduct examinations for all Scotland in a way somewhat akin to the London University. Some approved of this as tending to secure uniformity of attainment and stimulate effort on the part of both professor and student. The House of Lords thought it an innovation undesirable on the ground of sentiment and tradition. As it was only permissive it was allowed to remain part of the act.

A powerful executive commission was appointed to carry out the purposes of the act. It was entrusted with large powers which, injudiciously used, might have worked ruin, but the

interests of the universities were safe in the hands of such men as the Duke of Argyll, Earls Stanhope and Mansfield, Lord President McNeill, Stirling of Keir, Lord Moncrieff, and, most important of all, the sagacious and energetic Lord Justice Clerk Inglis as chairman[1]. A proposal that principalships should not be confined to ministers of the Established Church was carried. Of this change Sir David Brewster as Principal of Edinburgh was the first fruit. In due course they proceeded to frame regulations for graduation in medicine and arts, arranging for three classes of medical degrees—Bachelor of Medicine (M.B.), Master in Surgery (C.M.), and Doctor of Medicine (M.D.). For the two lower degrees compliance with Ordinance 5, which was merely supplementary to the arrangements adopted in 1833, was necessary. For M.D. the requirements were a lapse of two years after the lower pass, age not less than twenty-four, and proof of satisfactory attainments in the Faculty of Arts. The medical faculties in their jealousy of extra-mural teaching made a protest against Ordinance 8 which sanctioned it, but without effect, and both ordinances were confirmed in 1861. In 1866 the production of a thesis on some medical subject was added, as necessary for the degree of M.D. Under these regulations, the number of students and graduates in medicine rapidly increased till 1890, when it fell off for about ten years and again increased. In the Faculty of Arts the Commission of 1858 did not adopt the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1826–30 as to an entrance examination, but they instituted a voluntary examination for a three years' course, and an examination testing fitness for promotion from a junior to a senior class. They abolished the system of B.A. and M.A. of 1826, and also the B.A. instituted by the Senatus Academicus in 1842, which was simply M.A. with the omission of some subjects. Instead of this they established only one M.A. degree which could be taken in three stages.

This was adopted to encourage graduation and enlarge the General Council. It had this effect, and infused a general spirit

[1] "They acted with the greatest wisdom and sagacity, and produced a system under which the universities, and especially the University of Edinburgh sprang into new life and development." Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, II, p. 100.

of work into the various classes. The subjects covered by the Arts course were Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, moral philosophy and rhetoric. For the ordinary M.A. degree examination in these seven subjects was necessary.

Honours might be taken in each of the following departments: (1) classical literature; (2) mental philosophy, including logic, metaphysics, and moral philosophy; (3) mathematics, including pure mathematics and natural philosophy, and (4) natural science, including geology, zoology and chemistry. In each of the first three of these departments, there were two grades of honour, but in natural science only one[1].

While attendance at the classes of these seven subjects was necessary for degree, it is scarcely doubtful that the pitch of the examination was not high, but considerably higher than that of Cambridge or Oxford even now. The scarcity, and comparatively isolated position of secondary schools in our educational system, in many parts of the country, was incompatible with a highly pitched graduation scheme. The aim of the commissioners to increase graduation was entirely laudable. They wished to promote general culture, and arouse academic ambition in the only way then possible. It was in the interest of general culture that the degree of M.A. conferring membership of the General Council and consequently a share in the business of the university, should be held out, as a possible result of four years' diligence and average ability, to a lad whose education in a rural school was of a comparatively humble type. That it was successful is beyond question. For a considerable time not more than half the students took part in the class examination. Not long after, eighty per cent. did. There was a gradual raising of test and a strict examination in all the subjects was rigidly enforced.

Between 1863 and the commissioners' report in 1878 no new professorships or lectureships had been founded in the University of Aberdeen. In St Andrews a professorship of the Theory, History, and Practice of Education was instituted in 1876 on an endowment provided for under the will of the Rev. Dr Andrew Bell of Egmore, founder of the Madras system

[1] In St Andrews and Aberdeen Science was an eighth compulsory subject.

of education. In Glasgow two professorships, one of clinical surgery and another of clinical medicine, were instituted by the Senatus Academicus, with the approval of the University Court. An endowment of £2500 was provided from private sources for each chair, and the patronage was vested in the University Court. The incumbents of these chairs were allowed to practise as a supplement to the endowment, which at 4 per cent. would produce only £100. The respective rights, with regard to graduation, of the two clinical professors on the one hand, and of their medical colleagues on the other, especially the professors of practice of medicine and systematic surgery, were subjects of keen controversy, for the settlement of which the commissioners thought they had no authority, and that it was more suitably left in the hands of the University Court.

Between 1863 and 1876 four new professorships were founded in the University of Edinburgh by the Senatus Academicus,— that of engineering in 1868, that of geology and mineralogy in 1871, that of commercial and political economy and mercantile law in 1871, that of theory, history, and practice of education in 1876[1].

The Senatus Academicus with these additions was in 1876 the following.

In St Andrews, 2 Principals and 13 Professors, in all 15.
In Glasgow, 1 Principal and 27 Professors, in all 28.
In Aberdeen, 1 Principal and 21 Professors, in all 22.
In Edinburgh, 1 Principal and 36 Professors, in all 37.

After discussing the general propriety and expediency of the establishment of new chairs, the commissioners urge caution in accepting offers of endowments for new professorships. "Some of these may be highly beneficial, while others may be of doubtful expediency; and, to ensure that no chair shall be founded without a full and unprejudiced consideration of the probable consequences of its institution, and of the conditions under which its institution, if resolved on, should be sanctioned, we think that some check on the power of the universities to

[1] *Report of Commissioners of* 1876, pp. 51—3.

establish new chairs should be provided by legislation[1]." They add however that the same objections do not apply to lectureships, which are not necessarily of a permanent nature, and may be discontinued if found to be unnecessary or unsuccessful.

In the evidence given before the commissioners in 1876 there was great variety of opinion about the discontinuance of junior classes, in which the work done was more suitable for school than university. The preponderance of evidence was against the discontinuance, which was also the opinion of the commissioners themselves. They accordingly advised their continuance, on the ground that, in many parts of Scotland, the supply of such secondary education as would qualify for entrance into a senior class is not to be had, and that university education would be denied to many who might be able to turn it to good account. They thought that any rule which would shut the gates of the university against a student who failed to pass a certain examination would, in the circumstances of Scotland, be injurious to the education of the country; that university attendance was unusually large in proportion to the population; that educational conditions were very various, and not less various the objects with which, and the ages at which, students came to the university; that many of the backward students were beyond school age, and could not be expected to return to school; and, above all, that national life and character had been for centuries most beneficially influenced by the universities being accessible to all, even the poorest. With these views the commissioners of 1889 agreed, adding, however, that while it would be hard at present to discontinue junior classes in the interest of the backward students, they thought it undesirable that they should be permanent. They are now discontinued, but there are tutorial classes for students preparing to pass the preliminary examination.

On the kindred question as to enforcing a preliminary examination as a condition of entrance the commissioners in 1876 took the same sound view. In this they were followed by the commissioners of 1889 who held that the "first and indispensable condition for the erection of a barrier at the gates of

[1] *Report of Commissioners of* 1876, p. 67.

the university is that candidates for admission should have sufficient means and opportunity for preparing themselves for the university at school[1]."

In 1892 in consequence of representations made to the commissioners a preliminary examination was for the first time instituted, in order (1) to maintain the distinction between school and university education, and (2) at the same time avoid possible injustice to candidates whose opportunities of getting advanced education were unsatisfactory. The subjects of examination were English, Latin or Greek, mathematics, and one of the following, French, German, Italian, dynamics. As many candidates come from elementary schools which could prepare students to pass in two, but not in the whole four subjects of the preliminary examination, the commissioners ordained that "any student, who had passed in Latin, Greek, or mathematics on the higher standard, may attend a qualifying class in such subject or subjects without having passed in the other subjects; but no candidate can present himself for examination in any subject qualifying for graduation, till he has passed the whole preliminary examination, nor can he be admitted to a degree in Arts, unless he has attended qualifying classes for three years after completing the preliminary examination[2]."

By this arrangement students were permitted to attend the classes for which they had proved their fitness. They could thereafter, either privately or in the summer vacation, prepare to pass in the other subjects, instead of giving up the university altogether. But for this modification of the original Ordinance students of possibly great ability, though weak in classics and mathematics, would, mainly owing to their distance from good schools, have been denied the opportunity of reaching, as many such have done, high academic distinction. A middle course between laxity and severity was chosen, a good deal being left to judicious action on the part of the University Court, the Senatus, and the examiners. Consideration was thus given to the unsatisfactory condition of secondary education in schools, while at the same time the standard of the preliminary exami-

[1] *Report of Commissioners of* 1889, p. x.
[2] Ordinance 44, Section IV.

nation was not lowered. It has been contended with considerable cogency, that the gates of the university should be open to all comers irrespective of attainments, provided, of course, that teaching is not lowered to suit the ill-prepared, who must be content to pick up whatever they can. Of the expediency of the policy of the open door, Scotland's educational history can furnish many notable examples.

The standard for a pass in the preliminary examination was prescribed by reference to the examination for the three years' curriculum established in 1858, and to the leaving certificate of the Scotch Education Department. To secure uniformity in all the universities, a board of examiners was instituted consisting of professors, lecturers on subjects qualifying for graduation, and additional examiners appointed by the University Courts.

After passing this examination, the curriculum extended over not less than three winter sessions, or two winter and three summer sessions, a winter session including not less than twenty, and a summer session not less than ten teaching weeks. While the traditional number of seven subjects was unchanged, it was felt that the course of study covered by them was wanting in pliancy and adaptation to individual taste or bent of mind, and a great variety of options was consequently introduced.

While the course was thus widened and liberalised, care was taken that the humanistic culture characteristic of an Arts degree was preserved, as will be seen below from the specification of imperative and optional subjects. This widening of the curriculum was thought to have a useful bearing on the relation of the Faculty of Arts to the Faculty of Medicine, inasmuch as some of these science subjects might be taken during the Arts course, and so shorten the medical course by a year, and that its tendency would be in the direction of enlarged liberal education for the medical student. In Aberdeen, where natural history was compulsory, a medical student saved a year by taking chemistry in his fourth year in Arts.

Candidates for the ordinary M.A. degree might follow the curriculum, and graduate in the subjects hitherto recognised for graduation according to the regulations laid down in Ordinances 12, 14, 18 and 69 of the Act of 1858, or they might vary the

curriculum in the following way. They must attend full courses and pass in seven subjects four of which must be (*a*) Latin or Greek; (*b*) English or a Modern Language (French, German, Italian, Spanish) or History; (*c*) Logic and Metaphysics, or Moral Philosophy; (*d*) Mathematics or Natural Philosophy. The remaining three subjects might be chosen from the following departments, subject to the condition that the group of seven subjects must include either (*a*) both Latin and Greek, or (*b*) both Logic and Moral Philosophy, or (*c*) any *two* of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.

There were four departments.

1. *Language and Literature.*

Latin.	Italian.
Greek.	Sanskrit.
English.	Hebrew.
French.	Arabic or Syriac.
German.	Celtic.

2. *Mental Philosophy.*

Logic and Metaphysics.	Education (Theory, History and Art of).
Moral Philosophy.	
Political Economy.	Philosophy of Law.

3. *Science.*

Mathematics.	Zoology.
Natural Philosophy.	Botany.
Astronomy.	Geology.
Chemistry.	

4. *History and Law.*

History.	Constitutional Law and History.
Archaeology and Art (History of).	Roman Law.
	Public Law.

A candidate for the M.A. degree was not required to submit himself to examination in groups of subjects. He might be

examined in any subject, as soon as he had completed attendance on the corresponding class. For the honours degree in Arts it was, up to this time, necessary to pass in all the pass subjects, except in the department in which the honours examination was taken. By the new Ordinance exemption was allowed from some pass subjects in order that the candidate might be free to devote his energies to the subjects in the honours group in which he proposed to graduate.

The degree of M.A. might be taken with honours in any of the following groups, provided honours classes had been established in at least two subjects in that group:

(*a*) Classics.

(*b*) Mental Philosophy.

(*c*) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

(*d*) Semitic Languages.

(*e*) Indian Languages.

(*f*) English (Language, Literature, and British History).

(*g*) Modern Languages and Literature.

(*h*) History.

(*i*) Economic Science (i.e. Political Economy, with either (*a*) Moral Philosophy, or (*b*) History, as Supplementary Honours subjects).

In each group there were three grades of honours—first, second, and third class.

The candidate for honours must take up at least five subjects, two of which must be selected from his honours group. The five subjects must include one from each of the departments of Language and Literature, Mental Philosophy, and Science.

The commissioners framed Ordinances 31 and 45 instituting Faculties of Science (Report, p. xix). These faculties vary in each university because the chairs in each are not identical.

To enter in detail into the matter of these two ordinances would far exceed our limits. It is perhaps sufficient to say that "The Commissioners ordained that two degrees in science may

be conferred by each of the Universities of Scotland, viz. Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) and Doctor of Science (D.Sc.). These degrees may be given in Pure Science and in Applied Science. To obtain the degree of B.Sc. the ordinance prescribed the passing of a preliminary examination, attendance on at least seven courses of instruction during not less than three academical years and the passing of two science examinations."

In the University of Edinburgh the prescribed subjects are (1906–7):

I. Preliminary Examination:

(1) English.

(2) One of the following—Latin, Greek, French or German.

(3) Mathematics.

(4) One of the following—Latin, Greek, French or German (if not already taken); Italian, or such other language as the Senatus may approve, Dynamics.

II. First Science Examination:

(1) Mathematics or Biology (i.e. Zoology and Botany).

(2) Natural Philosophy.

(3) Chemistry.

III. The Second Science Examination is on a higher standard in any three or more of the following subjects:

(1) Mathematics.

(2) Natural Philosophy.

(3) Astronomy.

(4) Chemistry.

(5) Human Anatomy including Anthropology.

(6) Physiology including Histology and Physiological Chemistry.

(7) Geology including Mineralogy.

(8) Zoology including Comparative Anatomy.

(9) Botany including Vegetable Physiology.

Doctor of Science (D.Sc.).

Bachelors of Science of not less than five years' standing may offer themselves for the degree of Doctor of Science (D.Sc.) and must profess one of the branches of science prescribed for the second science examination, in which they "will be expected to show a thorough knowledge" as well as to present a thesis to be approved by the Senatus.

In applied science the degrees of B.Sc. and D.Sc. are conferred in the departments of engineering, public health and agriculture.

Of the 169 ordinances issued by the Commission of 1889 41 are general and applicable to all the four universities. It will be convenient to deal first with the most important of these, and leave as far as possible those that have special reference to each university to be taken up separately.

New Constitution of University Courts.

The new constitution of the University Court marks a change of very great importance. In 1858 the number of members was in St Andrews and Aberdeen 6, in Glasgow 7, and in Edinburgh 8. In the new Courts the number in each was raised to 14, independently of possible additions of 4 in the event of new colleges being affiliated. This increased membership was brought about by introducing the Provosts of the four university towns, and giving additional assessors to the Senatus and General Council. It was only in Edinburgh that the Lord Provost and his assessor were formerly members, a very proper recognition of the strictly municipal origin of the university. By the introduction of the Provosts a popular element of great value in keeping with the temper of the time was contributed.

Increase in the membership had a very distinct motive, and was accompanied by a large transference of power and responsibility. Formerly, the Court was little more than a Court of Appeal from the Senatus Academicus, which had the administration of property and revenues, as well as discipline and education. In some of the universities this power was thought excessive and

almost autocratic. By the new ordinance, responsibility for discipline and education was left with the Senatus, but the business management of property was vested in the University Court. There were also certain decisions of the Senatus which it was competent for the Court to supervise and review. This diminution of power had a partial compensation for the Senatus in increased representation in the Court, and a two-third share in the superintendence of libraries and museums.

Another new and valuable element was the Students' Representative Council which had come spontaneously into existence in 1884 and was now recognised by statute. It is elected annually, and consists of representatives from the different Faculties, and the recognised students' societies. Its functions are (1) To represent the students in matters affecting their interests. (2) To afford a recognised means of communication between the students and the university authorities. (3) To promote social life and academic unity among the students. Its constitution had to be approved by the University Court, and it was entitled to petition the Senatus or the University Court about any matter within their respective jurisdictions affecting the interests of the students.

Among the most important of the new features of the act was the provision for the extension of universities by the affiliation of new colleges, such as the University College of Dundee with the University of St Andrews.

Another feature was the institution of the Universities' Committee of the Privy Council. This committee was to consist of the Lord President of the Privy Council, the Secretary for Scotland, and, if they are Privy Councillors, the Lord Justice General, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Advocate, the four Chancellors, the four Lord Rectors of the universities, one member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and such other members of the Privy Council as the Sovereign may appoint. This committee may be appealed to by the Sovereign for advice, as to giving or withholding consent to any of the Ordinances of the commissioners. For the purpose of this Ordinance any three or more are sufficient, provided one is a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and one a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland.

In the entire field of university administration the Universities' Committee was the supreme tribunal. Other changes of greater or less importance were introduced. Power was given to the General Council to have special meetings, in addition to the two statutory meetings, which formerly were alone permitted. In universities where the Rector was elected by 'nations' the election was settled by the majority of votes and not, as formerly, by the casting vote of the Chancellor, when there was an equality of 'nations.' Where the election is not made by 'nations,' as in Edinburgh and St Andrews, it is settled by the majority of votes.

It is a noteworthy circumstance in connection with the Act of 1889, that while a period of two years (with power to extend if necessary) was mentioned as probably to be required for the work of the commissioners, it was not till after 251 meetings had been held that their task was completed in 1897, eight years after their first meeting in 1889. The very extensive powers with which they were invested sufficiently account for the greatly extended time. They had before them the whole university system to examine and, if necessary, to reconstruct. They were empowered to regulate the foundations, mortifications, gifts and endowments held by any of the universities; to combine or divide bursaries and make rules for exercising the patronage of them; to transfer to the University Court the patronage of all professorships except those vested in the Curators of the University of Edinburgh. This extensive charge however was accompanied by judicious and necessary safeguards against hurried legislation. It is approximately correct to say that draft ordinances, by whomsoever proposed, had, according to definite arrangements as to times and seasons and order of procedure, to run the gauntlet of criticism by the commissioners, the Senatus Academicus, the General Council, the University Courts of the four universities, and indeed by any person affected by such Ordinances, before they could be submitted for approval by the Queen, who might further ask the advice of the Universities' Committee, as the supreme tribunal in university proceedings. The Ordinances having passed this ordeal, and having been laid before both Houses of Parliament, received the royal assent and became law. The publicity thus given to the Ordinances, and the keen scrutiny

to which they were subjected by all who, from different points of view, were interested in them, might be expected to afford strong presumption of the general soundness of the conclusions at which the commissioners arrived.

Subsequent experience however has shown that this presumption was wrong. It was at any rate found after an experience of ten or twelve years that though the Act of 1889 authorised each University Court, after the expiry of the powers of the commissioners, to make ordinances affecting its own university, all such Ordinances required, before being submitted for royal approval, to be communicated to the Courts of the other three universities, any one of which had the power of making adverse representations to the Privy Council. The result was that no Ordinance could be passed without serious difficulty and delay unless all the universities were agreed. After much inter-academic negotiation, a simple method has in 1908 been devised of remedying this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and of securing 'autonomy' all round. An Ordinance is obtained by one university making general regulations on some particular subject affecting itself, and containing a clause authorising details to be enacted and altered from time to time by that university alone, without any power of scrutiny by the others or reference to the Privy Council. A striking instance of this is furnished by the new Arts Ordinance for Glasgow, which—to mention one point only—specifies 27 subjects from which a curriculum may be made up, leaving it to the Senatus, with the approval of the University Court, to make additions to or modifications in these, and to enact from time to time regulations regarding the definition and grouping of the subjects, their selection for the curriculum, their classification as cognate, and the order in which they are to be studied, as also regarding the standard of the degree examinations and the conditions of admission thereto. Such regulations require to be communicated to the General Council, but not to any outside body, either academic or governmental.

The course of medical study was extended from four to five years. It was impossible, in view of such a long course, to insist on medical students taking a full course in arts, but, as a security for the possession of a liberal education, a preliminary examination

was instituted in the same subjects as for Arts students, French or German being allowed as alternative for Greek. The extent and standard of the examination were to be determined by the Joint Board of Examiners. It was provided that there must be four professional examinations:—the first in botany, zoology, physics, and chemistry; the second in anatomy, physiology, and materia medica; the third in pathology, medical jurisprudence, and public health; and the fourth in the various departments of medicine, surgery, and midwifery.

It was not thought desirable to establish an honours degree in medicine. In Arts a student can specialise with advantage because he has already got a liberal education, though he is possibly much stronger in classics than in mathematics, or in philosophy than in either. But in medical study the commissioners remark: "every candidate for this degree must have a competent knowledge of every branch, and it is therefore impossible to acquire so exceptional a mastery of any one as would justify a degree with honours[1]." Notwithstanding some most sensible contentions for an honours degree, it was thought "more important that the Universities should encourage prolonged study in medical science by men of riper age, than that they should recognise differences of degree in the attainments of undergraduates[2]." Each university however confers the degree of M.B. *as a whole* with honours, but without specification of honours in separate subjects.

Some of the regulations framed by the commissioners of 1858, in their endeavour to bring the practice of the universities into harmony with the system introduced by the Medical Act, were amended by the commissioners of 1889. They substituted the degree of Bachelor of Surgery for that of Master of Surgery, and made the latter a higher degree of the same rank as Doctor of Medicine. Both of these higher degrees were obtainable only by those who, being already bachelors, had spent an adequate time in additional study and practice of medicine or surgery, had passed an examination in certain special departments and

[1] *Report of Commissioners of* 1889, p. xvii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

submitted for approval of the Faculty of Medicine a thesis on one or other of certain specified branches[1].

In 1858 it was decided to give an academic character to degrees in law which had till that time been purely honorary. With this in view the commissioners of that year ordained that the degree of Bachelor of Law (LL.B.) should be conferred only on graduates in arts, who must give three sessions to legal study in six departments. The commissioners of 1889, while agreeing with this proposal, thought it desirable to give the degree more elasticity and a wider scope, so as to adapt it to the wants of other than practising lawyers,—to men whose aim was a public or administrative career. The ordinance was accordingly amended to the extent of giving options and adding to the number of subjects as under:

1. General *or* Comparative Jurisprudence.
2. The Law of Nations *or* Public International Law.
3. Civil Law.
4. The Law of Scotland *or* the Law of England.
5. Constitutional Law and History.
6. Conveyancing *or* Political Economy *or* Mercantile Law.
7. Two of the following: International Private Law, Political Economy, Administrative Law, and Forensic Medicine.

In Edinburgh and Glasgow a lower degree (B.L.), not confined to graduates in arts, had been established, the requisites for which were passing the preliminary examination in arts, three arts subjects, and four legal subjects—Civil Law, Law of Scotland, Conveyancing and Forensic Medicine, two years of academic study, one of which must have been spent in the university granting the degree. St Andrews having no Faculty of Law could not give the degree. In Aberdeen for some time only B.L. could be conferred, but in that university, as also in Glasgow, an incomplete Faculty of Law was supplemented by lecturers and now Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen can confer both degrees[2].

[1] *Report of Commissioners of* 1889, p. xvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

Previous to 1889 classes for women in Arts and Medicine, on a university standard, had been conducted in Edinburgh and Glasgow outside the university. In St Andrews women were examined and obtained the title of L.L.A., but there were no classes[1]. This remains unchanged. The title is obtained by passing in seven subjects, of which at least one must be a language. All honours passes count as two ordinary passes. The subjects of examination are arranged in four departments: (1) language, (2) philosophy, (3) science, (4) education, Biblical history and literature. One subject out of each of the first three departments must be chosen, the remaining subject or subjects may be taken from any department. The examination may be taken at any age, may spread over any length of time, and the subjects may be taken in any order. In none of the universities had women been admitted to graduation, but an Ordinance in 1892 admitted women to any degree on the same terms as men. Where in arts, science, or medicine no provision was made within the university for the education of women the teaching of any teacher or institution in the university town might be recognised by the Court as qualifying for graduation.

Graduation in Divinity.

The commissioners regret that they can do nothing to remodel the Faculty of Divinity. In all the universities the equipment is inadequate, the number of professors and lecturers too few, and the salaries too small. They could not found new chairs, as no portion of the parliamentary grant of £42,000 made in 1892 could be given to theological chairs beyond the sum, if any, which "had been, within twelve months before the commencement of the act, appropriated to such chairs out of public moneys." They dissented from the opinion of the Edinburgh Faculty of Divinity, who held that the restriction was not applicable to the parliamentary grant[2].

The admission to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) of students other than members of the Established Church was

[1] L.L.A. means Lady Literate in Arts.

[2] *Report of Commissioners of* 1889, p. xxiii.

regarded by the commissioners of 1858 as a delicate question, but as the universities favoured the proposal, no serious objection was taken to it. Meanwhile in all the universities the practice had been well established as by prescriptive right. All candidates were examined, no vital principle was involved, and the commissioners of 1889 thought the "system was advantageous and ought to be confirmed." The examination was accordingly opened to graduates of Scottish universities who had gone through a due course of theological training whether in these universities or in any other theological school in Scotland or England.

It was suggested to the commissioners that the degree of LL.D. might be made attainable by examination, just as the higher degrees in science and medicine were conferred, but as LL.D. had always been given simply as a mark of honour, it was feared that confusion might arise from making it represent high legal attainments also, which the degree of LL.B. sufficiently attested. This was the conclusion to which the commissioners of 1875 also came. The degrees of D.D. and LL.D. continue to be given *honoris causa*, the commissioners merely remarking that they should be conferred with "due deliberation, and not in deference to applications from without."

Additional Assistants.

There is no respect in which the commissioners of 1889 have contributed so much to the improvement of the university, as in the means they took to make provision for a steadily increasing growth of students and new subjects of instruction, by adding to the number of assistants and lecturers. Many of the classes were too large to be managed by professors however accomplished and energetic. The number of Latin students in 1889 in Glasgow was 453, and the number of anatomy students in 1889 in Edinburgh was for winter 300 at lectures, and in practical anatomy 534 for winter and 167 for summer. It was proposed to meet this evil by extending to all the faculties the same recognition of extra-mural teaching as had been given to the Faculty of Medicine. This question was carefully considered

by the commissioners of 1876, who thought it would be injurious. With this opinion the commissioners of 1889 heartily agreed.

The grounds were various. One, but not the most important, was the diminution of the already too small income of the universities. A much more important one was the almost inevitable lowering of the instruction. The excellent results of extra-mural teaching in medicine were no guide to the expediency of adopting the same system in the Faculty of Arts. They pointed out that the aim of medical teaching is the acquisition of definite and exact information, on which the student is to be examined and pronounced qualified for a profession, and that it is of comparatively little importance where or how his information has been acquired, while the aim of a teacher in the Faculty of Arts is to supply the broadening influence which forms the basis of a liberal education, and that of the student is, or ought to be, primarily mental culture, not ability to pass an examination[1]. It is not insinuated that instruction in medical subjects may not be, and in many well-known instances is, eminently scientific and stimulative, nor that all students in the Faculty of Arts work under the inspiring motive of mental culture, but it will be generally granted that the aim of each class of students is different, and fairly represented by the account thus given of them. If the extra-mural teachers are to live they must have large classes, and large classes can be got only by the teachers earning a reputation for success in enabling their pupils to pass the required examination. It is inevitable that competition of this kind would take the direction of examination success, to the detriment of the higher aim of mental culture, which, from an academic point of view, would be a great evil. To meet the case of subjects taking a wider range than formerly, or the introduction of new subjects, or of classes unmanageably large, the commissioners preferred to appoint assistants and lecturers, whose teaching would be on the same lines as that of the professors, under the superintendence and regulations of the University Court and Senatus, and, in this way, to avoid the danger of cram, and the tendency to subordinate the true principle of sound university education to examination aims.

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. xxv.

They accordingly ordained that the University Court, after consultation with the Senatus, should determine the number, duties, remuneration and tenure of office of assistants and lecturers; that they should be recognised as officers of the university but not members of the Senatus; that their lectures should, as a rule, qualify for graduation, and that their appointment, dismissal, and arrangements for teaching should all be under the superintendence of the University Court and the Senatus. The commissioners saw that, by the institution of this class of university officers, encouragement would be given to post-graduate study and research by students of promise, from whom there would be furnished for vacancies in professorships a supply of candidates of successful experience, an anticipation in many cases realised. It was the natural completion of university promotion—bursaries to enable students of ability to follow a course of study, scholarships and fellowships to reward excellence attained, and professorships to crown the career.

Bursary Regulations.

The commissioners were empowered to "frame regulations under which the patronage of existing bursaries vested in private individuals or bodies corporate should be exercised," but not to abolish the rights so vested. They had neither the power nor the wish to throw them all open to competition. They knew the unfavourable position of many candidates who, owing to the deficient character of the schools in which they had been taught, were in this way unfairly handicapped in competition with students who may have had better preparation at school, but not necessarily greater ability. It is probable that the donors intended their endowments for students of this class, and their intention was entitled to respect. By Ordinance 57 the commissioners made an excellent use of their limited power in this matter. Candidates for bursaries not open to competition must pass the preliminary examination. Candidates who failed to produce class certificates could be deprived of their bursaries. Presentation bursaries could be thrown open to competition, if the patrons did not fill up vacancies in due time. Bursaries of less

than £10 could be combined to make one of larger value, the restrictions being removed wherever possible. Bursaries of doubtful usefulness were combined to form scholarships and fellowships for the promotion of study and research, a respect in which the universities were poorly provided. For a comparison of the educational efficacy of competition versus presentation bursaries in Aberdeen, see pp. 280—2.

Among the changes made by Ordinance 57 there was one which was favourably received by all the universities except by certain members of the University of Aberdeen. This regulation was that "the examination subjects for open bursaries in arts for the first year should be those prescribed for the preliminary examination in arts, but under this condition, that in determining the marks to be assigned in the competition, English, Latin, Greek and mathematics shall each have assigned to them double the marks assigned to any other subject[1]."

It is not clear why there should have been in Aberdeen any objection to the doubling of the marks for English, Latin, Greek, and mathematics, these being subjects in which Aberdeen had the reputation of being strong, while it had no such reputation for French or German. The Professor of Latin was opposed to the Ordinance, but he objected not to the principle of differentiating values as between classics and modern languages, but only to the method in which it was applied[2]. In their report the commissioners thought it necessary to make a reasoned statement in support of the Ordinance. Their defence of the proposal is based on an assumption, the accuracy of which is hotly disputed in quarters entitled to respect, viz. that "the time required to bring a classical pupil up to the standard of a higher grade certificate of the Scotch Education Department in Latin or Greek is twice or even thrice the time required to prepare him for the higher certificate in French or German." On this assumption, right or wrong, the commissioners maintain that the proposal of double marks for the subjects named is fair and equitable; and that, by placing French or German on the same level as Latin or Greek, a powerful inducement would be given

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. xxix.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. xxx and xxxi.

to candidates of small means, to whom a bursary is indispensable, to give up Latin or Greek, and serious harm would be done to classical education, as bursary examinations exert a powerful influence on the curriculum of secondary schools. It is highly probable, in view of the late successful efforts made by each university to secure autonomy all round, and the framing of ordinances for the introduction of 'soft' options from which a curriculum may be constructed, that French and German will at no distant date be put on the same footing as Latin and Greek.

As women were now admitted to graduation, it was necessary that bursaries should be provided for them. The commissioners accordingly empowered the University Courts to establish for competition either without restriction as to sex, or for women only, as many bursaries as they might think necessary.

The commissioners of 1889 were empowered to establish bursary funds in all the universities. Under the Act of 1858 a bursary fund was established in Aberdeen into which the surplus income of some foundations, and the income of vacant bursaries were paid. Out of it the cost of examination and the augmentation of bursaries were met. Its accumulations now amounted to £10,500. The commissioners of 1889 thought that it was not advantageous to continue the Aberdeen bursary fund; that it was better to capitalise the accumulated sum, and that "the surplus income of any foundation should in future be added to the capital fund of the foundation, and be applied to increasing the payments to the beneficiaries[1]," the University Court having power to increase or reduce the value of bursaries or scholarships as they might think desirable.

Patronage and Pensions.

In dealing with the patronage of professorships the commissioners had no difficulty with the provision in section 14 for the transference to the University Court of the patronage vested in private individuals or corporations other than the Curators of the Edinburgh University. The only chairs to which it applied were those of Humanity, Civil and Natural History, and

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. xxxiii.

Chemistry in St Andrews. The patrons were the Duke of Portland, the Marquis of Ailsa, and the Earl of Leven and Melville, who offered no objection. An ordinance was accordingly issued and received the Queen's approval.

The power conveyed in subsection 14 (*e*) was a matter of much greater difficulty, viz. "to prepare a scheme by which a detailed and reasoned report on the qualifications of candidates for chairs may be submitted to the patrons, including the Crown, so as to assist them in the discharge of their patronage."

Success in framing a scheme, accompanied by a detailed and reasoned report on a subject bristling with difficulties from so many points of view, was not to be expected. The commissioners, however, undaunted by the magnitude of the task, after very careful consideration, issued a draft ordinance, to which objections were made by all the universities, and by every corporation who had a share in patronage, and the draft ordinance was withdrawn.

Additional funds were required, and, in answer to an appeal to the Treasury, it was enacted that an annual sum of £42,000, already referred to, was to be provided by parliament for the purposes of the universities, which the commissioners were to apportion in such shares as they might think just. This grant was subject to two conditions: (1) That no university should receive less than the average amount of public moneys which it had received during the five years preceding the commencement of the Act of 1889, and that Glasgow should receive £500 for the maintenance of the buildings, and Aberdeen £320 for the purchase of books, in addition to the average amounts already mentioned. (2) That no part of this increased grant should be appropriated to any theological chairs except those of Hebrew or Oriental languages. It was also enacted that, in future, pensions to principals and professors were to be paid by the universities, and that the grant was a full discharge of all claims on public moneys. A Treasury minute was however issued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the effect that he would recommend a moderate increase in case of pecuniary difficulties in connection with pensions and compensations. The commissioners were in the meantime, till the ordinances were approved,

empowered to make provisional payments out of the surplus revenue from the grant, if they thought proper. On this understanding, grants for the four years and a quarter from 1890 to 1893 were paid, to Glasgow nearly £35,000, to Aberdeen nearly £28,000, to Edinburgh nearly £43,000, and to St Andrews for the eight years and a quarter from 1890 to 1897 upwards of £46,000[1].

It turned out that pecuniary difficulties did arise from the indefinite amount of possible claims for pensions and compensations and, on the advice of eminent lawyers, the commissioners expressed to the Government the opinion that further aid was required "to enable the Act of Parliament to be carried into effect." The result of this was that, under the Act of 1892, an additional grant of £30,000 was made, which was a useful increase to the resources of the universities, but the fluctuating charge for pensions was still a source of embarrassment.

As a remedy for this, the commissioners advised each university to establish a pension fund, by setting aside annually, from the general revenues, a certain amount to meet claims for possible pensions. This advice was taken.

The annual charge for St Andrews was £750.
" " " " Glasgow " £4000.
" " " " Aberdeen " £1500.
" " " " Edinburgh " £5000.

By Ordinance 32, section iv, the annual emoluments of a Principal or Professor on retirement will be the average of the preceding five years, provided that in calculating his pension no account will be taken of the excess in any one year above £900, which shall be held to be the maximum emoluments of a Principal or Professor.

The maximum pension is £600 for professors of the following two classes, (*a*) professors appointed by the Crown subsequently to 1882, (*b*) all professors by whomsoever appointed subsequently to 1889. But professors may have a pension exceeding £600 if (*a*) they were appointed by the Crown or any other body before 1882, or if (*b*) they were appointed by any other body than the Crown between 1882 and 1889.

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. xxxiv.

The patronage of chairs varies considerably in the four universities, but a very large proportion of it is in the hands of the Crown and of the University Courts.

In dealing with financial arrangements the commissioners wished to leave to the universities, as far as possible, a free hand, but the question of fees was too important to be left untouched. It was necessary to consider how fees should be treated, forming as they did part and, till now, a main part of the professors' emoluments. The introduction of optional subjects for graduation in arts made some change desirable. That the professor should have a direct interest in fees led inevitably to unwholesome rivalry, and to a lowering of the academic ideal, which ought not to have for its highest aim the preparation of students for examination. Enlargement of class and consequent increase of fees might, and probably would, tempt some professors to be content with a lowered standard. But further, the consideration, among others, that the higher and more advanced the subjects, the smaller would be both class and fees, led the commissioners to ordain that class fees should be paid into the University Court as the earnings of the university; that each professor should receive a salary (called a normal salary) which might be diminished proportionally, if the aggregate amount of fees in any year was unable to meet the claims on the fee fund; but in order that the emoluments should not fall below a certain amount, a minimum salary was fixed, which should be a charge on the general revenue of the university[1]. This arrangement involved a very serious reduction of the income of a number of chairs, but even this, a very thorny subject, was settled to the general satisfaction of those whose vested interests were very largely interfered with.

New Chairs instituted.

Meanwhile fresh burdens were laid on each University Court by the appointment of lecturers, the institution of new degrees, and alterations in the course of study.

New chairs were instituted—"in Glasgow, History and

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. xxxviii.

Pathology; in Edinburgh, History; in St Andrews, Pathology, Materia Medica, Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery. By special endowment there were instituted in St Andrews, the Berry Chair of English Literature; in Glasgow, Political Economy; in Aberdeen, English Literature; and in Edinburgh, Public Health[1]." In 1901 the Chair of Ancient History was founded in Edinburgh, and in 1903 the Chair of History and Archaeology was founded in Aberdeen.

Graduation in music is, as yet, possible only in Edinburgh, a result of the Reid Bequest already referred to. Two degrees may be conferred, Bachelor of Music (Mus. Bac.) and Doctor of Music (Mus. Doc.), the latter being open only to Edinburgh Bachelors of Music of not less than three years' standing.

The commissioners would have liked to institute a separate faculty for every subject worthy of academic study, and fitted to develop intelligence and refinement, but funds were not available for the efficient maintenance of the faculties already existing. The commissioners, like those of 1876, had not sufficient funds for the establishment of new chairs, and they thought it undesirable to establish chairs for which sufficient endowments were not provided. Lecturers on specially important subjects might be appointed by the University Courts, but permanent burdens which might prove too heavy should be avoided.

The moneys paid to the universities on account of accumulations of revenue from the grants of 1889 and 1892 were to Glasgow £29,273, to Aberdeen £16,149, to Edinburgh £36,876. The ordinances allowed the Courts of these three universities to make of these moneys whatever use they might think fit. St Andrews, in the meantime, could not be dealt with in the same way, owing to the litigation between it and the University College of Dundee.

This litigation, which commenced in 1890, and ended in 1897, being political or personal rather than educational, seems hardly within the scope of our enquiry. To describe in detail the legal difficulties and cross-purposes on both sides, which punctuate the question before an agreement was come to, would be both tedious and unprofitable.

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. xxxix.

Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, had its origin in 1868 as the result of a movement for the higher education of women by Mrs Campbell of Tulliehewan. For several years short courses of lectures were delivered by professors of the university. The next step was the formation in 1877 of the Glasgow association for the same purpose, with H.R.H. the Princess Louise for its president, and Mrs Campbell for its vice-president. Lectures on university subjects were, by permission of the Senate, given by university professors in the university class-rooms, the association meanwhile renting an office and reading-room. The next step was taken in 1883 by the incorporation of the association as a college with the name Queen Margaret, the earliest patroness of Scottish literature and art. That it might not be merely a name, Mrs Elder, a lady of great generosity and public spirit, presented the association with the building now known as Queen Margaret College. The condition attached to this gift, viz., that an endowment fund sufficient to provide for the effective carrying on of the work should be raised, was in a short time amply satisfied.

The contributions from various sources amounted to nearly £25,000. Step by step, additions and alterations, including laboratories for teaching in science and medicine, were provided, and in 1890 such a curriculum in both Arts and Medicine, on the level of university degrees, was arranged for, that in 1892 when women were first admitted to graduation, the council of the college decided that the purpose they had in view would be better served by making over their work to the University of Glasgow. It was accordingly proposed, with the concurrence of Mrs Elder, to offer a transfer of the buildings and grounds of the Queen Margaret College to the university, on condition that they should be employed for the maintenance of university classes exclusively for women. The University Court accepted the offer, and Queen Margaret College became part of the university, had its teachers appointed by the University Court, and its students admitted as matriculated students. In 1907–8 the number of matriculated women-students was 631.

For the promotion of post-graduate study and the encouragement of research, an ordinance was framed, under which the Senatus in each university might, with the approval of the

University Court, admit graduates of any university, or others whose education fitted them to engage in some special study, to continue their investigations, and possibly earn the title of Research Fellow on their showing special distinction. The revenue of £20,000 furnished by the Earl of Moray was placed in the hands of the University of Edinburgh for the payment of the expenses of original research and the publishing of noteworthy results.

Aberdeen has made a most successful use of this ordinance and, under the able editorship of Mr P. J. Anderson, has issued a series of publications for the supervision of which a committee of the Senatus has been appointed, and the cooperation of the New Spalding Club secured. No fewer than forty volumes have already appeared.

The subjects dealt with cover a wide field, including, among others, Classical Archaeology, Scottish History, Bibliography, Philosophy, Comparative Religion, Anatomy, Pathology, Zoology and Chemistry. The object of the movement is to stimulate research within the university by the teaching staff and others connected with the university, and to unite by a bond of common interest and intellectual fellowship alumni who, after leaving the university, too often lose sight of each other. This has been followed by an interchange of volumes with American, continental, colonial and the newer English universities. So far Oxford and Cambridge have not organised an interchange.

The Carnegie Trust.

From yet another quarter hearty encouragement in the same direction was received. In 1901 Mr Andrew Carnegie, the well-known American millionaire, gave to Scotland—his native country—the sum of ten million dollars (£2,000,000), the interest on which—amounting to about £102,000 a year—was to be expended by a committee of nine members to promote the following objects:—

A. One-half of the net annual income was to be applied to the improvement and expansion of the universities of Scotland in the Faculties of Science and Medicine, and to increasing the

facilities for acquiring a knowledge of such subjects of a technical and commercial education as can be included in a university curriculum, by erecting buildings, providing apparatus, endowing professorships, post-graduate lectureships, and research scholarships; and by other means approved by the committee.

B. The other half, or as much of it as might be needed yearly, was to be devoted to the payment of the ordinary class fees exigible by the universities or by extra-mural schools providing an equivalent education, for students of Scottish birth or extraction, subject to certain restrictions as to age, scholastic qualifications, diligence and conduct.

It was provided also that any surplus remaining in any year after the payment of fees under section B, was to be applied to the purposes specified in section A, and any surplus remaining after the requirements of both clauses were fulfilled was to be devoted to the establishment of courses of lectures at convenient centres, or to the benefit of students at evening classes, or to such other objects as the committee might think proper.

Under section A the committee distributed no less than £178,000 up to the 31st Dec. 1906, at which date they carried forward a balance of £125,000. The aid thus given greatly improved the efficiency of the universities and other institutions, whilst the stimulus given to higher study and original investigation by the research scholarships has proved of the utmost value. In session 1906–7 the Trust awarded 20 fellowships, 26 scholarships, and gave 57 grants for promotion of post-graduate study in the four Scottish universities.

In the four universities considerable disparity is shown in the number of students for whom fees have been paid. In the six academic years up to and including session 1906–7, 69 per cent. of the students matriculating at Aberdeen became beneficiaries of the Trust. St Andrews came next with 67 per cent. whilst Glasgow and Edinburgh had only 49 and 38 per cent. respectively. The abnormally low percentage at Edinburgh may be accounted for partly by the large number of other-than-Scottish students matriculated there, and by the number of law students who attend classes, but are excluded from the benefits of the Trust through not having passed the preliminary examination.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the beneficent operation of section A, but appreciation of section B has not been so hearty and unanimous. Doubts have been pretty freely expressed as to the expediency of practically making a pass in the preliminary examination the only condition of obtaining a free university education. It is beyond question that many, of whose ability to pay their own fees there could be no doubt, have taken advantage of this, and the result has been, as some think, a lowering of self-respect and a slackening of effort in university pursuits. It has not increased the number of students, which was perhaps not desirable. Administration was difficult even for the eminent men whose selection as trustees was heartily approved. There were many points to be considered requiring a more intimate acquaintance with the character of Scottish education than the trustees as a body possessed. Hence there has been a want of consistency. The first set of rules were found to be unworkable, and had to be exchanged for another set, the former by their wide scope suggesting that the Trust was an educational endowment, the latter, by refusing (among other claims) payment of fees for optional advanced classes, that it was a charity, securing for the comparatively poor student a minimum of university training. It is however only fair to say that the trustees were dealing tentatively with a movement the issues of which it was difficult to foresee; and that consistency was limited by the amount of funds available. Students who have availed themselves of the offer of free fees are expected to repay, when they can, what they have obtained by exemption from the payment of fees. It is much too soon to expect a large return from this source.

Higher Degrees.

An important ordinance was framed for regulating the higher degrees of Doctor of Science (D.Sc.), Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.) and Doctor of Letters (D.Litt.), which, under certain conditions, might be conferred after the expiry of five years from the date of graduation in arts. All candidates for these higher degrees must either have taken honours in the subjects of the

degree for which they are candidates, or have passed an examination of value equivalent to an honours examination. Each candidate must submit a thesis or memoir cognate to the degree aimed at, accompanied by a declaration that it was composed by himself. To secure that the work for which these degrees may be conferred is an original contribution, it is provided that an expert in the subject of the thesis must be associated with the university examiner, and that the thesis must be published.

The most important of the general ordinances have now been dealt with. The varying conditions of individual universities in respect of management, equipment, revenues, faculties, &c. made separate ordinances requisite. To enter into these in minute detail is not possible, nor for our purpose necessary. It has been in some cases difficult to keep the general and special entirely separate.

Medical Study in St Andrews and Dundee.

Lectureships on fifteen university subjects have been instituted in St Andrews within the last fifteen years, only a few of which have been endowed. Between St Andrews and Dundee there is now a complete medical faculty. In fact there is a complete faculty in Dundee alone, as all the St Andrews' chairs have been duplicated there. A medical student may begin and end his course in Dundee. If he begins in St Andrews he must finish in Dundee, because St Andrews has not sufficient hospital facilities.

In St Andrews special ordinances were required in connection with graduation in medicine; the abolition of the Professorship of Medicine and the substitution of a Chair of Botany in its place; the abolition of the Professorships of English, and of Classics, and Ancient History, in University College, Dundee, and the substitution of lectureships in these subjects qualifying for graduation if required by the council of the college; St Andrews' share in the parliamentary grant; the composition of the faculties; regulations for bursaries and prizes; the foundation of the Berry

Chair of English Literature[1], the institution of boards of studies in medicine, and the appointment of a lecturer on forensic medicine and public health in University College, Dundee. For all these separate ordinances were framed.

The commissioners of 1889 wished to establish uniformity of system in medical graduation in all the universities, but St Andrews presented considerable difficulties. Reference is made to a special report in 1861 by the commissioners of 1858, in which it was stated that "at that date St Andrews, with no medical students, conferred a greater number of medical degrees than any other University in the United Kingdom. Of the candidates for these degrees, 68 per cent. came from London schools, and 77 per cent. from these and the provincial schools of England together[2]." This had a very suspicious look, suggesting great possibilities of abuse, and some restriction was obviously necessary. The commissioners of 1858 accordingly ordained that degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Master in Surgery should be conferred only after a specified course of study, and that two out of the four years of study should have been spent in a university, and that, in exceptional cases, the degree of M.D. might be conferred, but not to a greater extent than ten cases in any one year. Complaint was made that St Andrews was being deprived of its ancient privilege of conferring degrees without residence. The commissioners of 1876 took the same view as to the necessity of restriction as the commissioners of 1858 and recommended that it should not be removed.

The commissioners of 1889 agreed with this for the very satisfactory reason, that to confer degrees on licentiates, who might not have obtained any part of their education in a university, was not only a violation of academic usage, and a probable injury to other universities, but a certain lowering of the reputation of Scottish medical degrees. The commissioners accordingly continued the restriction and even increased the

[1] The Berry Bequest was a sum of £100,000 bequeathed to the university in 1889 by Mr David Berry of Coolangatta, New South Wales, whose brother Dr Alexander Berry had been a student at the university. It has been used for the foundation of the Chair of English Literature, for the better endowment of other chairs, for the establishment of scholarships and other purposes.

[2] *Report of Commissioners*, p. lv.

limitation by ordaining that "the power of St Andrews to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Master in Surgery on the students of other universities should be discontinued[1]." They also refused in the meantime to establish medical professorships in St Andrews[2], but they could not prevent the University Court from instituting lectureships by which the subjects in question could be taught. The objections to these ordinances were discussed by counsel before the Universities' Committee, and the ordinances were approved by the Queen in council.

With reference to extra-mural teaching in science the commissioners ordained that it was permissible on the same grounds as extra-mural teaching in medicine. The ordinance prescribes that, out of seven courses in science, three might be taken outside the university conferring the degree.

Special ordinances were needed for separate universities. Thus the following degrees in applied science were granted.

In Glasgow.

Bachelor and Doctor of Science in Engineering.
Bachelor of Science in Agriculture.

In Aberdeen.

Bachelor of Science in Agriculture.

In Edinburgh.

Bachelor of Science in Agriculture.
Bachelor and Doctor of Science in Public Health.
Bachelor and Doctor of Science in Engineering[3].

The absence of a properly equipped laboratory caused a degree of science in public health to be at first refused to Glasgow, but it was subsequently granted for all the four universities. The regulations for conferring the diploma in public health approved in 1892 and revised in 1897, 1901 and 1902 are very stringent. The examination is written, oral, and

[1] *Report of Commissioners*, p. lvi. [2] *Ibid.* p. lvii. [3] *Ibid.* p. xx.

practical. It is divided into two parts, and seems to cover the whole field of public health. Every candidate must have graduated in medicine, and have attended a hospital for infectious diseases, and had opportunity for studying methods of administration. The subjects embraced in the first part of the examination are physics, engineering, meteorology, chemistry, microscopy, and bacteriology. The subjects taken up in the second part are general hygiene, sanitary law, and vital statistics.

Section 15 of the Act of 1889 deals with the extension of universities by affiliation of new colleges. For this the commissioners might make ordinances, and when their powers ceased the University Court might do so, under regulations to be laid down by the commissioners, or on the expiry of their powers, by the Universities' Committee. The conditions to be satisfied are:

(1) That the University Court and the college are consenting parties.

(2) That the approval of the commissioners or of the Universities' Committee has been obtained.

(3) That affiliation may be terminated, and the ordinance by which the college was affiliated rescinded by the University Court, subject to the approval of the Universities' Committee.

(4) That arrangements must be made for due representation of the University Court on the governing bodies of affiliated colleges, and of the governing bodies of affiliated colleges in the University Court.

The University College of Dundee having satisfied these conditions was affiliated with the University of St Andrews.

ST MUNGO'S COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

The Glasgow Royal Infirmary was founded by Royal Charter in 1791 and was opened in 1794. It was enlarged from time to time until it became one of the largest hospitals in the empire. At present it is undergoing a process of complete reconstruction. In 1875 the managers, desirous of utilising the opportunities which such an institution could offer to medical students, organised a medical school, which in 1899 was incorporated as St Mungo's College. The accommodation provided for 300 students, includes a large dissecting-room, well-filled anatomical and pathological museums, and fully equipped laboratories for the study of Chemistry, Physiology, Zoology, Pathology, Bacteriology and Hygiene. In addition to the subjects usually included in a medical curriculum lectures are given in Gynaecology, Bacteriology, Ophthalmology, Psychological Medicine, &c. The teaching staff has fourteen professors, nine lecturers and ten assistants. The hospital in which the students receive clinical instruction contains nearly 600 beds, and special wards are set apart for burns and for throat, gynaecological and venereal cases.

During the course of a year some 7000 patients are treated in the wards and 50,000 in the dispensary. As a result of deliberations and negotiations between the University Court and the managers, it is highly probable that the professors of clinical medicine and clinical surgery in St Mungo's College will also be professors of the University of Glasgow, and that by this means the immense clinical material available for teaching purposes will be of direct service to students aiming at university degrees in medicine and surgery.

By the deed of constitution of St Mungo's College the management is vested in a body of governors consisting of president, vice-president, eight *ex officio* governors and seventeen elected governors.

HERIOT-WATT COLLEGE.

Among the changes effected by the scheme which was obtained by the Governors of George Heriot's Trust in 1885 was the taking over by them of the Watt Institution and School of Arts, and its transformation into what has since been known as the Heriot-Watt College.

To deal in detail with the very wide field covered by the Heriot-Watt Calendar would quite exceed our limits. Further reference to the scope and character of the subjects taught will be found in the Appendix IV on Technical Education, p. 411. It has therefore been necessary to restrict our remarks to a subject which is one of the most interesting, and, from its intimate connexion with the university, most important of the many taught in the Institution over which Principal Laurie so worthily and efficiently presides. That subject is Engineering.

A vacancy was created in the Chair of Engineering at Edinburgh University by the death of Professor Armstrong in the autumn of 1900. The patronage of this chair is in the gift of the Crown.

There had been a desire for some years to co-ordinate the means of instruction in engineering given in the university and in the Heriot-Watt College, and advantage was taken of the opportunity which had now arisen to formulate a scheme for co-ordination, and in the meantime no appointment was made to the vacant chair.

A Minute of Agreement was entered into between the Court of the University of Edinburgh and the Governors of George Heriot's Trust, which was finally adjusted and signed by both contracting parties in June 1901.

Under this Minute of Agreement, for the purpose of arranging a joint curriculum of study for a Degree in Engineering Science, and for co-ordinating the means of instruction in Engineering in the university and in the Heriot-Watt College, with a view to such a degree under the provisions of Ordinance No. 21 of the Scottish Universities Commissioners, the two governing bodies agreed:

(1) That an Advisory Committee should be appointed, consisting of the following members: As representing the university, the Dean of the Faculty of Science, and four Professors of the university, to be appointed by the University Court; as representing George Heriot's Trust, four Governors, one of whom shall be the convener of the Heriot-Watt College Committee, and the Principal of the Heriot-Watt College. The convener of the Committee was to be the Dean of the Faculty of Science of the university. The members elected by the Governors of George Heriot's Trust hold office for one year, and are eligible for re-election.

(2) The duty of the Advisory Committee shall be to draw up each year a programme for a joint curriculum of study and examination for a degree in Engineering. This programme of study and examination to be submitted each year to the University Court and to the Governors of George Heriot's Trust for their approval.

(3) The Examiners for Degrees in Engineering to be, as provided by Ordinance No. 13, the Professors in the university whose subjects qualify for graduation, together with such lecturers in the university as the University Court may from time to time deem necessary, and, in order to keep the teaching in the Heriot-Watt College in touch with the range and standard of examinations, the University Court shall appoint additional Examiners from the Professors and Lecturers of the Heriot-Watt College whose courses have been duly recognised as qualifying for a degree in Engineering.

(4) The Agreement shall not involve any financial responsibility of either contracting party towards the other.

(5) The Agreement may be amended from time to time with the accordance of both contracting parties, or it may be dissolved at the instance of either contracting party, due regard being had to the interests of students in Engineering who shall have begun their course under the Agreement.

In accordance with this Minute of Agreement certain classes in the Heriot-Watt College, including Mathematics, Mechanics, Physics, and Chemistry, have been recognised as qualifying for admission to the First Science Examination in Engineering, and

certain of the technical classes in Engineering have been similarly recognised as qualifying for the Final Science Examination.

The Professor of Mechanical Engineering, and the Professor of Electrical Engineering at the Heriot-Watt College have, in accordance with clause (3), been appointed Examiners in Engineering and in Electrical Engineering respectively.

The instruction in the Science of Engineering has been divided to a considerable extent in such a manner between the two institutions as to prevent overlapping of teaching. Purely Civil Engineering subjects are taught exclusively in the university, purely Electrical Engineering subjects are taught exclusively in the Heriot-Watt College, and the Mechanical Engineering is divided between the two institutions. Higher instruction in Engineering Science has thus been rendered possible. It is obviously impossible for any one man to attempt to deal in his lectures with all the modern development of Engineering, except in the most elementary fashion, but, by this division of work, each of the three Professors is enabled to devote a considerable portion of his lecture-courses to the more advanced branches of Engineering Science.

Since this Agreement was entered into in 1901, the university has built and equipped a large new block of buildings for its Engineering School, and the Governors of George Heriot's Trust have built large new Engineering Laboratories. In both cases the equipment in machinery and appliances in these laboratories has been so arranged that there has been no useless expenditure of money in duplicating equipment in the two institutions. The new University Laboratories have been almost entirely devoted to machinery and appliances in connexion with the testing of materials of construction, and the design and testing of hydraulic machinery and appliances, while the new Heriot-Watt College Laboratories have been largely devoted to a complete equipment in prime movers of all types—steam, gas, oil, petrol, &c., with the necessary boilers, producers, &c.

No difficulty has been experienced up to the present in working in a thoroughly satisfactory fashion this scheme of co-ordination of the means of instruction in the two institutions, and undoubtedly the Engineering students have benefited greatly

by the Agreement which was entered into between the two institutions in 1901.

It may be added, that there is in the College an extensive system of university bursaries suited to the requirements of both day and evening students.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

The Highland and Agricultural Society by its charter, granted in 1850, obtained power to further agricultural education, to conduct examinations, grant diplomas and certificates, and to carry on experiments.

It contributed for many years £150 a year to the Chair of Agriculture in Edinburgh University, in addition to awarding 30 bursaries of values ranging from £10 to £20, and other prizes. In later years when a lectureship was established in agriculture in Glasgow Technical College, an additional annual grant of £150 was made to assist it.

As this work was, later on, taken up by the Government and County Councils, the society withdrew its assistance, the bursaries ceasing in 1892.

The society took a prominent part in raising funds to found the Lectureship in Forestry in Edinburgh University. It still assists this lectureship with an annual grant of £50 a year, and conducts examinations and grants certificates in forestry.

For many years the society conducted examinations and granted qualifications in veterinary science, until the Royal College of Veterinary Science was established as a licensing body. It still gives silver medals for the best students in the various classes of the Scottish veterinary colleges.

The society assisted in the establishment of the Kilmarnock Dairy School, and continues to give an annual grant of £100 towards its maintenance. Within the last few years it has contributed £800 towards the building and equipment of the agricultural colleges in the East and West of Scotland.

For many years the society's diplomas and certificates were the only recognised qualifications in agricultural science in

Scotland, but the institution of university degrees and college diplomas has modified the position, and in 1898 the Fellowship of the Highland and Agricultural Society (F.H.A.S.) was merged in the National Diploma in Agriculture (N.D.A.), the examinations for which are conducted in England by a joint board consisting of representatives of the society and the Royal Agricultural Society of England. The joint board also conducts examinations in both countries in dairying and grants the National Diploma in Dairying (N.D.D.).

For many years experimental stations for the improvement of agriculture were maintained at considerable expense at Harelaw and Pumpherston, but were abandoned some years ago, and experiments conducted on farms throughout the country will probably be left more and more to the agricultural colleges established in recent years, on the governing boards of which the society is represented.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES, EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

In 1894 a joint board of representatives of the Highland and Agricultural Society and the University Court of Edinburgh was constituted to provide for further instruction in agriculture in Edinburgh, and on a grant of £600 being voted by Edinburgh Town Council, representatives were added from that body, and from contributing County Councils. This board obtained grants from the Board of Agriculture and established the Edinburgh School of Rural Economy, which carried on its classes in existing institutions and made a beginning with extension work in the counties.

The control of agricultural education in Scotland was handed over by the Board of Agriculture to the Scotch Education Department. That department summoned in 1901 a conference of representatives from the various County Councils in the South and East of Scotland. This led to the establishment in that year of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture which took over the work of the School of Rural Economy. This

college has an income of over £4000 a year, and in a few years it purchased premises in George Square, which were reconstructed, extended and equipped at a cost of over £9000, half the cost being contributed by the Scotch Education Department, and the other half by the associated counties (12 in number), the Carnegie Trust, the Highland and Agricultural Society, landed proprietors and others interested in agriculture.

In these premises, in addition to class-rooms, there are fully equipped chemical, biological and bacteriological laboratories.

In addition also to central day and evening classes in the sciences associated with agriculture, the college carries on, by means of a special staff, systematic courses and lectures in agriculture, horticulture, veterinary science, forestry, and poultry-keeping. Two travelling dairy schools are maintained. Experiments in manuring, sheep and cattle feeding, varieties of swedes and potatoes, and dairying, are carried on at various centres throughout the area. Fruit demonstration plots have been laid down at convenient centres. Classes have also been conducted for teachers in nature knowledge and school gardening.

An advisory department has been established to which farmers may apply for advice in any points of difficulty that may arise in agricultural practice.

In 1905 arrangements were made for granting a College Diploma (C.D.A.) to students who undergo a three years' course, and pass the necessary examinations. This diploma is endorsed by the Scotch Education Department.

WEST OF SCOTLAND.

The West of Scotland Agricultural College was established in Blythswood Square, Glasgow, in 1899, and its constitution is similar to that of the College in Edinburgh. To it was transferred the Lectureship in Agriculture formerly conducted in the Technical College.

This college has under its management the Dairy School for Scotland, situated at Kilmarnock, which is fully equipped with the most modern equipment for instruction in dairying and poultry-keeping.

The West of Scotland College grants a diploma under conditions similar to those of the Edinburgh College, and is making arrangements for the granting of a special diploma in dairying for a course of two winter sessions at an agricultural college and four months at Kilmarnock Dairy School.

ABERDEEN AND NORTH OF SCOTLAND.

The Aberdeen and North of Scotland College of Agriculture was established in 1904 with a constitution similar to those of the other two Scottish colleges.

The central classes of this college are conducted in the buildings of Marischal College, where special accommodation has been provided. The Fordyce Lectureship in Agriculture (endowed) is included in the course.

The university grants a diploma on a two years' course.

The extension work carried on is on similar lines to that already detailed in connection with the Edinburgh College.

Several of the classes in all the colleges are recognised as qualifying for the Degree of B.Sc. in Agriculture granted by the university at each centre.

The annual expenditure of the three colleges now amounts to about £14,000, of which half is provided by the Scotch Education Department.

The end of our task is now in view.

In dealing with a subject so wide as that of the four universities the omission of some interesting topics is inevitable. An effort has been made to take up more or less fully those of prime importance in connexion with the Acts of 1858 and 1889. We have seen the Senatus invested with greater powers, University Courts remodelled, and General Councils instituted, new professorships and lectureships founded, preliminary examinations established, regulations for graduation improved in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine and Law and to a slight degree in Divinity, post-graduate study encouraged by the

founding of Research Scholarships and Fellowships, bursaries, prizes and scholarships rearranged and rendered educationally more effective. We have seen women graduating in all the Faculties except Law and Divinity, the salaries and pensions of professors put upon a more satisfactory basis, greater facilities provided by the operation of the Carnegie Trust for the teaching of Science, Medicine, Commercial and Technical subjects, and a beginning made in the affiliation of extra-mural colleges to the universities.

More might be added, but enough has perhaps been said to testify to the excellent work of the Commissioners of 1858 and 1889, and of the Scottish universities for the past fifty years.

In the preceding chapter attention was directed to the almost astounding increase of difficulty in the Leaving Certificate examination papers in recent years. Not less astonishing is the increase of difficulty in the examinations for Entrance, especially in the Faculties of Arts, Science and Medicine. It will be generally admitted that the standard of the Arts and Science Preliminary Examination at the present day is at least as high as the standard of the degree examination of fifty years ago.

It will be seen from the following statistics that in St Andrews between 1893 and 1906 there is a very gratifying increase in the number of both men and women students. In the other three universities the number of matriculated students of both sexes between the same 13 years is considerably smaller, though there is an increase in Glasgow of 364, in Aberdeen of 180, and in Edinburgh of 325 women students. While this decrease in the number of men students—due largely to the establishment of the new universities in England and the Colonies—is to be regretted, it is matter for congratulation that, notwithstanding the higher pitch of examination, the number of graduates has greatly increased.

Subjoined are statements as to the number of students, bursaries, establishment of chairs and lectureships, and expenditure on additional buildings in the four universities since 1889.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS.

Number of Students.

1892—1893.

	Men	Women	Total
Arts	128	20	148
Science	19	0	19
Medicine	3	0	3
Theology	27	0	27
	177	20	197

A number of these students were attending classes in more than one faculty.

1905—1906.

	Men	Women	Total
Arts	141	111	252
Science	30	6	36
Medicine	14	3	17
Theology	30	1	31
	215	121	336
Deduct students attending classes in more than one faculty ...	17	2	19
	198	119	317

Bursaries.

	1865—66	1906—07
Presentation	54	63
Competition	39	84
	93	147

There are now in St Andrews 147 bursaries of values ranging from £5 to £50. More than half are open to unrestricted competition. The rest are presentation or preference bursaries.

Of scholarships there are five of £50, ten of £80, and one of £150. There are besides money prizes of which two of £30 each,

a Natural History prize of £20, and in alternate years a Chancellor's prize of £21 are the most important. In the United College 25 bursaries were combined into 14. In St Mary's College 15 bursaries were combined into 7.

Chairs.

1897 Berry Chair of English Literature.
1901 Bute Chair of Anatomy, founded by the late Marquess of Bute who assigned £20,000 for the purpose.

Lectureships.

1891 Botany.
1892 French.
1895 Anatomy (1895—1901).
1895 Materia Medica (1895—1899).
1896 History.
1896 Physiology (1896—1908).
1896 Modern Greek (1896—1903).
1900 Political Economy.
1900 Ancient History and Political Philosophy.
1900 Agriculture and Rural Economy.
1900 German.
1904 Geology.
1904 Applied Mathematics.
1905 Organic Chemistry.
1906 Military History.

New Buildings.

1889—1906.

1891	Extension of Library Buildings	£8000
1891	Chemical Teaching Laboratory	£2000
1896	Gatty Marine Laboratory	£3057
1899	Bute Medical Buildings	£13000
1900	Physics Laboratory	£1600
1906	Chemical Research Laboratory	£9000
1906	Extension of United College Buildings	£8250

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Number of Students.

	1892—93			1905—06		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Arts	969	83	1052	678	433	1111
Science (no separate Sc. Fac. till 1893)	—	—	—	265	10	275
Medicine ...	804	56	860	656	60	716
Theology ...	90	—	90	45	—	45
Law	205	—	205	208	—	208
	2068	139	2207	1852	503	2355

The noteworthy points in the above are the decrease of men and the striking increase of women students, the decrease in candidates for the Church, and the gratifying advance in science teaching. The decrease of medical students which is common to Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh is largely to be accounted for by the opening of new medical schools in Birmingham, Yorkshire, Lancashire and the Colonies.

Bursaries.

	1863—64	1906—07
Presentation	64	47
Competition	17	407
	81	454

A comparison of the figures in 1863 and 1906 is eminently satisfactory in respect of increase, and especially in the extent to which competition exceeds presentation in the award. The values range from £5 to £50. The number of bursaries founded in the various Faculties since 1889 is 140, representing an annual value of £3512. Within the same period there have been founded 5 Scholarships or Fellowships in Arts, 5 in Science, and 2 in Medicine, a total of 12 Scholarships of an annual value of £1217.

Chairs.

1893 History.
1893 Pathology (Lectureship had existed from 1890).
1896 Political Economy (Lectureship had existed from 1892).
1903 Geology. (Previous to 1903 the Chair of Natural History comprehended Geology.)

Lectureships.

1893 Physics.
1893 Jurisprudence
1894 International Private Law
1894 Public International Law

Previous to 1893 these three subjects were included under the Lectureship on Public Law established in 1878, and were taught by the lecturer on that subject. A separate course for each is now given.

1894 Education.
1894 Constitutional Law and History. (From 1878 a short course was given in alternate years, but in 1894 the Lectureship was placed on a new footing.)
1894 Embryology.
1894 Civil or Roman Law.
1894 Mercantile Law.
1895 French.
1895 Diseases of the Ear.
1895 Diseases of the Throat and Nose.
1895 Electricity, Pure and Applied.
1897 (M^{c}Callum.) Celtic.
1898 Organic Chemistry.
1898 Electrical Engineering.
1898 Public Health. (Separate subject in the Faculty of Science, although at present taught by the Professor of Forensic Medicine.)
1899 German.
1899 Metallurgical Chemistry.
1901 (Alex. Robertson.) Apologetics.
1901 British History.
1901 *Engineering, Drawing and Design.
1902 Italian.

* The lectures on these subjects form part of the ordinary courses in Engineering, Anatomy, and Physiology, respectively, and students do not enrol separately for them.

1902 Mining.
1902 Arabic.
1904 Physical Chemistry.
1905 Political Philosophy. (A short course has been given since 1900, but in 1905 the Lectureship was placed on a new footing.)
1905 *Regional Anatomy.
1905 *Physiology of Nerve and Muscle.
1905 Physiological Chemistry.
1905 Evidence and Procedure.

Queen Margaret College.

At Queen Margaret College, in which the instruction provided is exclusively for women, separate Lectureships exist in the following subjects:

Botany, Chemistry, Anatomy, Materia Medica, Bacteriology, Surgery and Practice of Medicine, Diseases of the Eye, English, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy.

In subjects other than those mentioned in the above list the classes for women are conducted by the professors and their assistants.

In session 1892—93 women were first admitted to matriculation as university students.

Buildings.

Department	Nature of building with reference to main University block	Approximate actual or estimated cost
Engineering	Separate (completed)	£40,000
Botany	Separate (completed)	£20,000
Anatomy	Extension (completed)	£14,000
Chemistry	Extension (completed)	£12,000
1. Natural Philosophy	... ...	£40,000
2. Physiology	Completed and inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on Ap. 23/07, Class-rooms, &c.	£57,200
3. Materia Medica		
4. Forensic Medicine & Public Health		
Surgical Laboratory	... ...	£9,000
		£192,200

* The lectures on these subjects form part of the ordinary courses in Engineering, Anatomy, and Physiology, respectively, and students do not enrol separately for them.

To meet the requirements that have arisen from the growth of experimental and practical methods of teaching, large and fully equipped laboratories have been erected for many departments, accompanied, wherever necessary, by new class-rooms. The accommodation left vacant by the transfer of a number of subjects to new premises has been remodelled, so as to supply suitable accommodation for other departments which were previously inadequately housed. The outlay incurred in adapting existing buildings to new uses was considerable, but apart from this a sum of nearly £200,000 has been expended within the last eight or ten years in providing satisfactory equipment for the above-mentioned departments.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Number of Students.

	1892—93	1905—06
Arts: Men	375	242
Women	—	165
Science: Men	9	76
Women	—	6
Medicine: Men	408	290
Women	—	9
Divinity	19	21
Law	46	30
	857	839

What is striking in the above figures is that the number of matriculated students in 1905—06 is less by 18 than in 1892—93, although in 1905 no fewer than 180 women students are added; that the students of medicine are fewer by over 100, and that there is a marked increase in the number of science students. The 839 in 1905—06 is exclusive of 41 new students in the summer session who had not matriculated for the previous winter session.

Bursaries.

	1864—65	1906—07
Presentation	105	85
Competition	122	200

It is satisfactory to note the increase in competition and the decrease in presentation bursaries. The values range from £5 to £30. In Divinity there are two of £50.

The number of bursaries in the Faculties of Arts and Divinity was reduced by 18 and 11 respectively, and from these reductions one scholarship in Arts of £100, and in the Faculty of Divinity two, one of £100 and another of £76, were instituted. The number of scholarships and money prizes is about 40; in Arts 11, of values ranging from £30 to £200; in Science 6, from £5 to £150; in Divinity 11, from £3 to £100; and in Medicine 13, from £45 to £150.

Chairs.

		Founded by
1893	English Literature, including Lowland Scotch.	John Gray Chalmers.
1903	History and Archaeology.	John Burnett's Trustees, Mrs Mary Fletcher.

Lectureships.

		Founded by
1889	Natural Theology.	Lord Gifford.
1892	Conveyancing.	
1893	Education.	
1893	French.	
1894	Elocution.	
1896	Comparative Psychology.	Rev. William Anderson, LL.D.
1896	Agricultural Chemistry.	
1896	Agricultural Economics.	
1896	Engineering Fieldwork.	
1897	Agricultural Botany.	
1897	Agricultural Entomology.	
1897	Veterinary Hygiene.	
1897	Mathematics.	
1898	History.	A. P. Fletcher.
1899	Geology.	
1899	Political Science.	
1899	Tropical Medicine.	
1899	Physical Training.	
1900	Physical Chemistry.	
1902	Embryology.	

1903	German.	
1903	Palaeography.	
1903	Civil Law.	
1904	Agricultural Bacteriology.	
1904	Political Economy.	
1904	Procedure and Evidence.	John Clark's Trustees.
1905	Greek History.	
1905	Roman History.	
1906	Bacteriology.	
1906	Parasitology.	
1906	Statistical Methods.	
1907	English Language.	
1908	Comparative Philology.	
1908	Constitutional Law and History.	
1908	Public International Law.	
1908	Private International Law.	
1908	Jurisprudence.	
1908	Forestry.	
1908	Fisheries.	

King's College is in Old Aberdeen, and there almost all the classes in Arts and Divinity are taught. The buildings comprise, in addition to satisfactory class-rooms, the Chapel dating from 1500, Observatory, and the General Library. Adjoining the College is the Recreation Ground managed by the Students' Athletic Association.

Of the original buildings of Marischal College scarcely a fragment remains. The site was originally the residence of the Grey Friars. After great alterations the Chapel which alone survived was used as the old Greyfriars' Church till 1903, when it was removed to make room for the new buildings. The foundation stone of the present buildings was laid by the Chancellor, the then Duke of Richmond, in 1837.

Marischal College Extension.

The recent extension may be dated from 1884, in which year the Senatus started the movement and succeeded in getting the Board of Works to erect, as an instalment of the extension, the buildings that constitute the widening of the South Wing; or it may be dated from 1891, when, on the representation of the Senatus, the Court took the matter up. Between these dates the Government, through the Board of Works, expended over £6000 on new buildings at Marischal College,

the site having been provided by the Senatus, which was then the financial authority of the University. The Senatus expended part of its reserve fund in acquiring the necessary site, but it carried forward this expenditure in its accounts as an asset to be refunded from the subscriptions to be obtained from the public. As a matter of fact, owing to these subscriptions being found later to be inadequate for the work in hand, the University Court, some time after 1891, being then the financial body, resolved to make a gift of this asset to the building fund, and, indeed, went further and transferred the whole reserve fund of the University—some £6715, including the cost of the site mentioned—to the Executive Committee. In any statements hitherto, it has been usual to reckon this £6715 as part of the subscriptions raised since the extension movement came under the charge of the Court.

By the scheme of extension very large additions have been made to the Class-room, Laboratory, and other accommodation. The first portion, including the Mitchell Hall and Tower, University Union Rooms and Anatomical Department, was inaugurated in 1895. The new North Wing for the Departments of Botany, Surgery, Pathology and Chemistry was opened in 1896. The North Tower, containing Law Class-room, Zoological Laboratory, Secretarial Rooms, was opened in 1897. The South Wing, for the Department of Natural Philosophy, was completed in 1898, and the new West Front for the Science and Law Libraries and the Departments of Physiology, Medicine, Geology and Agriculture, completed in 1906, was inaugurated by King Edward on 25th September.

The subscriptions for the extensions may be stated thus:

1884—1891		
H.M. Government. (Board of Works.)		over £6,000
1891—1905		
H.M. Government. (Treasury.)		£40,000
Aberdeen Town Council:		
(*a*) Money Vote	£10,000	
(*b*) Sites	£11,865	
(*c*) Rebuilding of Greyfriars Church	£12,080	
		£33,945
University of Aberdeen		£6,715
Charles Mitchell, Esq., LL.D., of Jesmond Towers, Newcastle:		
(*a*) Ordinary subscription	£1,000	
(*b*) Special subscription	£20,000	
		£21,000
(Dr Mitchell also paid for the large heraldic window in the Mitchell Hall, costing, it is believed, over £2,000. He further contributed for completion of south wing and extinction of debt on the extension scheme.)		£27,171
Lord Strathcona and Mount-Royal:		
(*a*) Subscription	£25,000	
(*b*) Interest to November, 1905	£2,883	
		£27,883
Other Subscribers		£65,128
		£221,842

If the £6,000 expended by the Board of Works is added, the total is increased to £228,000.

The University may well congratulate itself in having succeeded in raising nearly a quarter of a million within a few years for the extension of its buildings. Now completed the whole pile of Marischal College forms the second largest granite building in the world—the largest being the Escurial in Spain—and in respect of beauty of execution may confidently challenge comparison with Truro Cathedral, another granite structure, or any other granite elevation in Britain.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Number of Students.

	1892—93	1905—06
Arts: Men	889	632
Women	70	338
Science: Men	no separate	281
Women	Faculty then	9
Medicine: Men	1736	1451
Women	—	31
Divinity	80	53
Law	452	326
Music: Men	—	9
Women	—	17
	3227	3147

We thus find that the number of students in Arts, Science and Medicine in 1892—93 was 2695, and in 1905—06 the number was 2742, being a total increase of 47 upon 2695. This increase is due to 308 women students additional, and the disappearance of 261 men, a reduction of men by 10 per cent.

Bursaries.

	1863—64	1906—07
Presentation	21	16
Competition	59	310

Values ranging from £8 to £76.

Scholarships.

	1863—64	1906—07
Presentation	2	—
Competition	10	111

Values ranging from £17 to £150.

Fellowships and Endowments for Research.

	1863—64	1906—07
Presentation	—	—
Competition	—	19

Values ranging from £52 to £140.

Prizes.

	1906—07
Arts	9
Divinity	12
Law	2
Medicine	23

In cases where a prize is open in more than one Faculty it has been included in the Faculty first mentioned.

Here as in the other Universities there is a satisfactory increase of competition and decrease of presentation bursaries. The approximate number in the various Faculties is in Arts 217, in Divinity 45, in Medicine 56, and in Law 8. The number of Scholarships, Fellowships, and Endowments for Research is 142, thus distributed: in Arts 60, in Science 20, in Divinity 14, in Law 9, in Medicine 33, in Music 1; and in Endowments for Research 5. All are of substantial and some of very considerable value, being represented by three figures. The number of post-graduate Scholarships is greater than in the other Universities, but there are not so many of tempting value as in Glasgow.

Chairs.

1893 Chair of History (additional to the already existing Chair of History) was instituted by the University Commissioners.

1898 Chair of Public Health was instituted by Ordinance of the Commissioners. The late Alexander Low Bruce, Esq., bequeathed £5000 for the purpose of assisting to endow it. Donations in supplement to the said bequest were received by the University Court from Mrs Livingstone Bruce, Sir John Usher, Bart., and others, amounting to over £10,000.

1901 Chair of Ancient History and Palaeography. Instituted by Ordinance of the University Court. Sir William Fraser, K.C.B., bequeathed £25,000 for the purpose of founding and endowing this Chair, to be called the Sir William Fraser Professorship.

Lectureships.

1892 Rhetoric and English Literature.
1892 Latin.
1892 Greek.
1892 Mathematics.
1892 Natural Philosophy.
1892 Applied Mathematics.

1892 Logic and Metaphysics.
1892 Moral Philosophy.
1894 French Language and Literature and Romance Philology.
1894 German Language and Literature and Teutonic Philology.
1894 Chemistry. (Three Lectureships.)
1894 Mineralogy and Crystallography.
1894 Pathology.
1894 Plant Physiology.
1894 Agricultural Chemistry.
1894 International Private Law.
1894 Experimental Pharmacology.
1894 Anatomy.
1894 Pathological Bacteriology.
1895 Engineering Drawing.
1897 Diseases of the Larynx, Ear and Nose.
1898 Diseases of Tropical Climates.
1898 Clinical Instruction in Diseases of the Skin.
1900 History. (Endowment provided by Sheriff Æneas Mackay.)
1901 Ancient History: Greek and Roman. (Endowment provided by the Sir William Fraser Trust.)
1901 Economic History.
1901 Invertebrate Zoology.
1902 Histology.
1902 Chemical Physiology.
1902 Experimental Physiology.
1903 Mathematics. (Second Lectureship.)
1903 Astronomy, Advanced.
1903 Applied Anatomy.
1904 Military Subjects.
1904 Administrative Law.
1904 Infective Fevers.
1904 Practical Application of Anaesthetics.
1905 Mathematics. (Third Lectureship.)
1906 Psychology.
1906 Economic History.
1906 Experimental Engineering.
1906 Systematic and Clinical Gynæcology.
1907 Statistics and Mathematical Economics.
1907 Apologetics.
1908 Geography.
1908 Botany for Arts students.
1908 Forest Botany.

Note of the amount of expenditure in connection with New Buildings since 1889.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
McEwan Hall, cost including site				115,000	0	0
The John Usher Institute of Public Health, cost over				21,000	0	0
Hughes Bennett Laboratory for Physiological Research, cost				2990	0	0
Pathology Department. Extension in connection with the teaching of Pathological Bacteriology, cost				2597	18	4
Physiology Department—Extension, cost				1163	3	9
Chemical Department—Extension, cost				3175	18	1
Shelter for Servitors, Outhouses and Photographic Studio at New Buildings				1744	16	3
New Engineering and Physical Laboratories.						
Cost of site and buildings thereon at High School Yards	15,000	0	0			
Cost of reconstructing the said buildings to the purposes of the Engineering Department	15,599	1	6			
Do. of the Physical Department	25,282	5	3			
				55,881	6	9
				£203,553	3	2

APPENDIX I

PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

(By John Watson, B.A. (Lond.), Headmaster of Broughton Higher Grade School, Edinburgh.)

School Premises, 1873—1907.

Nothing can more strikingly show the inadequacy of the school premises in 1872 than the fact that in 34 years (1873—1907) the School Boards of Scotland spent upwards of ten and a half million pounds on the erecting, enlarging and improving of school buildings. Of this vast sum £578,000 was contributed from the imperial funds: the rest was from the local rates, on which £5,740,000 yet remain as a burden. The building activity still (1908) continues; but it takes the form of providing Higher Grade and Supplementary Schools, and of improving existing buildings, providing shelter-sheds, supplying pure water, improving lavatories, and, generally speaking, making the schools more comfortable and more in accordance with modern educational and sanitary requirements. In such directions, as well as in providing for the natural increase of the population, and for the shifting—especially in mining districts—from one industrial centre to another, building is likely to continue for some time to come. In it there seems to be no finality. It has not been confined to School Boards. The Roman Catholic Schools in Scotland in 1872 numbered 22; in 1907 there were 208.

Accommodation and Staff.

The Schools under inspection in 1872 had room for 281,688 scholars. In 1907 accommodation was provided for well over a million. In the same year the army of Scottish teachers was 21,220 strong, of whom over 15,000 were trained; 2,614 untrained; and 3,585 Juveniles (Pupil Teachers). A comparison with 1906 shows a remarkable change in the composition of this force. The trained teachers had increased by 835; whilst the untrained and Pupil Teachers had decreased

by 180 and 738 respectively. Since then the diminution in the number of Pupil Teachers employed has been greatly accelerated. Many of the larger Boards, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen, have ceased to employ them, and smaller Boards have not been slow to follow their example. The system is doomed. The day appears to be at hand when only trained, adult teachers will be employed in our Scottish Schools.

Changes in the Type of Education.

The type of education in recent years has been gradually changing. There is less striving after mechanical accuracy. Greater efforts are being made to render the pupils intelligent and self-reliant. In arithmetic, for instance, long sums are discarded; but much time is devoted to mental arithmetic and to the working of short sums of a practical nature. The time allotted to Parsing has been greatly reduced. The teaching of Composition has vastly improved.

Promotion.

Promotion is no longer a yearly occurrence—regulated by H.M. Inspector's visit—for duxes and dunces alike. Bright pupils may be advanced at any period of the year. Many schools aim at bridging the gulf between the Infant Department and the Qualifying Examination in five years. Under the old regime the normal period for doing this would have been six years. H.M. Inspectors, as a rule, favour the shortened time. Children of more than average ability can easily do it: those with less should not attempt it.

Discipline.

This has assumed a kindlier aspect. Mutual confidence between teacher and pupil is very common, and will probably become more so as the size of classes is reduced, and other conditions of teaching are made more favourable.

Defective Children.

By the Act of 1890 provision was made for the instruction of blind, and deaf-mute children; and powers were given to School Boards by the Education of Defective Children (Scotland) Act (1906) to deal with children who are epileptic, crippled, or defective. Some of the larger School Boards have made profitable use of these powers.

Education (Scotland) Act, 1908.

The educational event of 1908 was the passing of the long-looked-for Education (Scotland) Act, which came into force on the 1st of January, 1909. Many of the defects of the old system, notably cumulative voting, 'small areas,' the lack of correlation between the various classes of schools, and the inequalities of rating in different districts, have been allowed to remain. The time available was too limited for the discussion of such controversial subjects. Much, however, has been done. The physical welfare of the children occupies a prominent place. School Boards may provide for the accommodation, equipment, apparatus and service for preparing and supplying meals to them; but the cost of the food itself (except in special cases) must either be met by the parents or defrayed by voluntary contributions. Where necessary, clothing also may be supplied; and parents who through neglect or carelessness send their children to school in a filthy or verminous condition, may be prosecuted. Agencies may be established and maintained for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children when they leave school. School Boards may, and—when required by the Department—shall provide for the medical inspection and supervision of the pupils in their districts, one-half of the cost being paid out of the district education fund. Parents are required to provide efficient education for their children between the ages of 5 and 14 years. The dates of entering and leaving school, however, may not coincide with the birthdays of the pupils. Power has been conferred on School Boards to prescribe two or more dates per year at which scholars may be admitted to school or leave it, and pupils must be enrolled on the prescribed date succeeding the fifth anniversary of their birthday, and must not leave (unless exempted by the Board) before the prescribed date after they have reached the age of fourteen.

Continuation Classes.

For young persons above that age suitable provision shall be made in day or evening continuation classes or in both for physical training and for instruction in the laws of health and in the crafts and industries practised in the district. School Boards have the power to make bye-laws to enforce attendance at these classes up to, but not beyond, the age of seventeen.

Tenure of Office and Pensions.

The position of the teachers has been distinctly improved by the Act. The right of appeal to the Department in the case of dismissal gives them greater security of tenure. The repeal of the restriction to grant retiring allowances imposed on School Boards by the Elementary School Teachers' (Superannuation) Act, 1898, is in itself a great gain. But the greatest is the prospect of a satisfactory solution of the superannuation problem for teachers in all classes of schools. The Department has been instructed to prepare a Superannuation Scheme applicable to teachers and to constitute and administer a Superannuation Fund for Scottish teachers, which fund shall consist of six per cent. of the teachers' yearly salaries (four per cent. payable by teachers and two per cent. by School Boards) with an additional yearly sum payable from what is henceforth to be known as the Education (Scotland) Fund. The retiring allowances to teachers are to be in proportion to their salaries and length of service.

The Education (Scotland) Fund just referred to, shall consist of nearly all sums payable for education in Scotland except university grants, the school grants under the Code, and a fee grant of twelve shillings per child in average attendance at non-fee-paying schools. It is to be distributed by the Department and not by local bodies. The Fund is to be applied to providing for the expenses of inspection of intermediate and secondary schools, to payments to the Universities and central institutions such as Technical, Agricultural and Art Colleges, to Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers, and to the Superannuation Fund already mentioned.

District Education Funds.

The balance is to be allocated for education in districts under local management, and is to be known as 'The District Education Fund.' From it payments are to be made to School Boards and other governing bodies for pupils attending Intermediate or Secondary Schools within their districts but residing outwith them; and bursaries are to be provided to enable duly qualified pupils to obtain education at approved supplementary courses, Intermediate and Secondary Schools, Training Centres, Agricultural, Technical, and Training Colleges, and the Universities.

The Act of 1872 provided specially for children of average strength and ability; the Act of 1908 descends farther and soars higher. It

cares, on the one hand, for the feeble in mind or body as well as for the hungry and the naked; and, on the other, for the strong in intellect who promise to become captains of industry, or leaders in the world of Commerce, Science, Art, Literature, or Thought. If it is carried out in the spirit in which it has been conceived no Scottish lad of 'pregnant pairts' need lack his opportunity.

It may be added that the School Boards elected since the passing of the Act of 1908 have entered on their new duties in a most praiseworthy spirit. They have fixed dates for entering and leaving school, made arrangements for the appointment of medical officers, and, as a rule, granted additional allowances to teachers who had retired under the Superannuation Act of 1898.

APPENDIX II

THE SYSTEM OF TRAINING TEACHERS INSTITUTED BY THE MINUTE OF THE SCOTCH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF 30TH JANUARY 1905.

(By Dr MORGAN, Principal of Edinburgh Provincial Training College.)

The system of training teachers in Scotland underwent great modification and extension as the result of a Minute issued by the Scotch Education Department on 30th January, 1905. The method of training in operation prior to that date had done valuable service to the country, but it had several obvious defects. While the organisation of the elementary school system was on a national basis the training of teachers was almost entirely in the hands of the Churches; the Universities and the elementary and secondary school authorities had no representation in the Managing Committees of the Church Training Colleges; the output of trained teachers was insufficient for the wants of the country[1]; and there was no provision made for the professional training of Secondary Teachers and Teachers of Special Subjects such as Drawing, Manual Work, Domestic Science, &c. To remedy these

[1] The annual output of trained teachers from all the Training Colleges and King's Student Centres in 1905 was about 700, leaving a deficit of about 400 to be filled from the ranks of untrained teachers—chiefly ex-Pupil Teachers and Acting Teachers.

defects the Minute provided for the establishment of four Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers in connection with the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. Each Committee was to look after the training of teachers of all grades in its own Province. Thus the 'sphere of influence' of the St Andrews Provincial Committee was to extend from the counties of Fife and Forfar in the east to Perth and Stirling in the west; of Glasgow Provincial Committee from Inverness in the north to Dumfries in the south, and from Perth and Stirling in the east to Argyle in the west; of Aberdeen Committee from Shetland in the north to Forfar in the south, and from Aberdeen in the east to Ross and Inverness in the west; of Edinburgh Committee from Fife in the north to Dumfries in the south, and from Berwick in the east to Stirling in the west. The Minute laid down precise rules regarding the constitution of each Provincial Committee, a certain number of members being elected by the Court of the University, by the Governors of each of the Technical Institutions in the Province, and by the Secondary Education Committees and the Managers of the Secondary Schools in the area. Each Provincial Committee was to be completed by the addition of a certain number of co-opted members representing the teachers in the Province, and any Church or Denomination transferring its Training College to the Provincial Committee.

The functions and powers of the Committees thus constituted were defined in a series of highly important regulations entitled "Regulations for the Preliminary Education, Training, and Certification of Teachers for Various Grades of Schools." The Regulations after careful consideration in draft form by the Provincial Committees themselves and other bodies interested in the training of teachers, were laid on the table of the House of Commons on 7th June, 1906, and came into operation a month later.

The details of the Regulations are somewhat complicated but the following is a brief analysis of their chief provisions:—

Arrangements are made for the training of Primary Teachers, Secondary Teachers, and Teachers of Special Subjects.

I. Primary Teachers.

The education and training of Primary Teachers are to be given in two distinct stages—the Pupil Teacher or Junior Student Stage, and the Senior Student Stage. Nothing need be said here regarding the Pupil Teacher System.

1. Junior Students.

(*a*) *General Education.*

Candidates for admission to Junior Studentship must have received instruction according to an approved curriculum in a Higher Grade School, or a Higher Class School, or in a School accepted by the Department as satisfactory for the purpose; and they must have obtained the Intermediate Certificate. Junior Students must therefore be 15 years of age, and the normal duration of their course is three years. During this time they must receive instruction, according to a curriculum approved by the Department, in English and one other language, History, Geography, Mathematics, Experimental Science, Drawing, Physical Exercises, Music. Instruction may also be given to certain students in Woodwork or Needlework and the Domestic Arts, or School Gardening. At the conclusion of their course all Junior Students must be presented at the Leaving Certificate Examination for examination in such subjects of the approved curriculum as the Department may have previously determined.

(*b*) *Practical Skill.*

During their course each Junior Student must undergo systematic training in the art of teaching each of the Primary School subjects.

Those who complete their course to the satisfaction of the Department in respect of (*a*) and (*b*), and who obtain from the principal teacher of the Centre a satisfactory report regarding their character, conduct, bearing and manner of speech, are awarded a certificate (The Junior Student Certificate) giving full details regarding their attainments.

2. Senior Students.

The candidate next becomes a Senior Student and undergoes a further course of education and professional training which extends normally over not less than two years, except in the case of Graduates, Untrained Certificated Teachers, and Provisionally Certificated Teachers, who may be admitted to a one-year course of training.

(*a*) *General Education.*

A condition of admission is that the candidate possess the Junior Student Certificate, the Leaving Certificate, or produce evidence satisfactory to the Department of having undergone an equivalent course of instruction. The Senior Student may continue to study the subjects of general education stated above for Junior Students, and the authorities of the Training Centre may allow students to attend any University classes, or classes in a School of Art, a Technical College,

Agricultural College, or College of Domestic Science, for which they are qualified and which may be useful to them in their future work as teachers. Thus, while professional training is the first and chief concern of the Training Centre, qualified students are given every facility for making a higher and more concentrated study of general subjects.

(*b*) *Professional Education.*

According to the Regulations provision must be made at the Training Centre for instruction in School and Personal Hygiene (including a course in Physical Exercises), Psychology, Ethics, Logic, and the History and Principles of Education.

(*c*) *Practical Skill.*

The students have to undergo a course of instruction in the methods of teaching each of the subjects of the Primary School curriculum, and the instruction must be accompanied by adequate practice in teaching under skilled supervision. A valuable feature of the practice in teaching under the new system is that it is given in the grant-earning schools in the district, thus ensuring that it is obtained in surroundings approximating as nearly as possible to those under which the student will afterwards have to teach.

II. Teachers of Higher Subjects in Intermediate and Secondary Schools.

(*a*) *General and Special Education.*

As a guarantee of sound general culture candidates for training are required, as a rule, to have graduated in Arts or Science. They must further produce evidence that they possess a thorough knowledge of the particular subject they desire to teach. The standard of knowledge required by the Regulations is, generally speaking, the possession of a Degree with Honours in the subject, or attainments in it equivalent to this.

(*b*) *Professional Education.*

Students during their training must undergo a course of professional education approved by the Department. The precise nature of the course is not prescribed in the Regulations, but it should include a re-study of the student's particular subject from the professional point of view. Each subject of the school curriculum requires a method of treatment which unfolds its inherent logic, and adapts it best to the growing mind of the pupil. The Secondary Teacher while in training must, therefore, study the educational possibilities of his subject for

knowledge and for discipline, and how to use it most advantageously for both. The professional education of the Secondary Teacher should also include a number of subjects the same as for Primary Teachers, such as School and Personal Hygiene, Psychology, Ethics, Logic, History and Principles of Education, all treated more particularly from the point of view of the requirements of the secondary school.

(*c*) *Practical Skill.*

The Regulations require the students to receive instruction in the organisation and management of Intermediate and Secondary Schools, and to make themselves acquainted with the actual working of schools of this kind to which access is obtained through the Training Centre.

The students have also to receive instruction and practice in the methods of teaching the particular subject or subjects for which recognition is desired.

The length of the course of training is not prescribed, but it generally is a session of at least 30 weeks. This period may be reduced in the case of holders of the Primary Teacher's Certificate.

III. Teachers of Special Subjects.

The Regulations lay it down that in order to obtain the recognition of the Department as qualified teachers of special subjects such as Cookery, Laundry Work, Drawing, Physical Drill, Manual Instruction, &c., three conditions must be fulfilled:—(*a*) a general education equivalent, generally speaking, to the standard of the Intermediate Certificate, (*b*) an expert knowledge of the special subject to be taught testified to by the Diploma of an Institution recognised by the Department for the purpose, (*c*) the successful completion of an approved course of professional training, including instruction in the aims and methods of education generally, and in the teaching of the particular subject for which recognition is desired.

By the issue of the Minute of 1905 little less than a revolution has been effected in the system of training Scottish teachers, and great changes are still ahead. Owing to the sound general education given at the Junior Student Centres, the Provincial Training Colleges will in course of time be relieved of the necessity of giving instruction in general subjects, the quality of the practical training given in them will be raised, and they will probably become more closely connected with the Universities as their Professional Schools for the Training of Teachers.

The number of students at present (May, 1909) undergoing training in the various Provincial Training Colleges is as follows:—

	MEN				WOMEN				TOTAL
	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Aberdeen	St Andrews	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Aberdeen	St Andrews	
1. Students preparing for the General Certificate (attending University)	242	140	73	31	314	245	125	96	1266
(not attending University)	70	45	20	35	667	390	318	136	1681
2. Teachers of Higher Subjects	4	7	4		9	5	7	2	38
3. Teachers of Special Subjects	19	7			136	50	2	1	215
Total	335	199	97	66	1126	690	452	235	3200

The number of students in all the Training Colleges and King's Student Centres in 1905 before the new system was introduced was 1719 (424 Men and 1295 Women).

APPENDIX III

SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

(By Charles S. Dougall, M.A., Headmaster of Dollar Institution.)

The issue of "Regulations for the Preliminary Education, Training, and Certification of Teachers for various Grades of Schools," in June, 1906, marked the beginning of a period of the utmost interest and importance in the history of Scottish Secondary Schools. A prefatory note to the Regulations formulated the principle that schools should be classified according to function. Whatever their origin or history, those schools which provided a three years' course of secondary education were to be called 'Intermediate' and those which provided a course extending over at least five years were to be called 'Secondary.' Thus the former distinction between 'Higher Class' and 'Higher Grade' schools was abolished at least as far as nomenclature is concerned.

Further, of the 55 Secondary Schools receiving grants under the Minute of April, 1899, 37 have been recognised as Junior Student Centres, and share with 73 Higher Grade Schools the work of training the future teachers of the country. Those Junior Student centres cannot hope to perform their work satisfactorily unless they are closely in touch with the primary schools on the one hand, and with the Training Colleges and Universities on the other. One result of the Regulations, therefore, has been a striking consolidation of the educational forces of the country.

The cost of education has, within recent years, increased at so alarming a rate that the incomes of Secondary Schools—from endowments, fees, common good, or other local sources,—have had to be augmented. Grants from District Committees, with varying conditions as to the provision of free places, &c., were not always satisfactory. Payments on results by the Science and Art Department, and latterly by the Education Department on attendances made in Science and Art Classes, had served their end. The "Regulations as to Grants to Secondary Schools," issued in 1907, came therefore none too soon. The new Regulations offered (*a*) a grant of £3 on the average attendance of pupils who had passed the 'Qualifying examination,' but had not obtained the Intermediate Certificate; and (*b*) a grant of £5 on the

average attendance of pupils who had obtained the Intermediate Certificate. Thus those schools which had not specialised in Science received largely increased grants. At the same time, schools which had been pioneers in the teaching of Experimental Science, were distinct losers by the new regulations. In the case of one such school, the grant has fallen from nearly £3,000 to less than £1,500. Yet the curriculum in this particular school has, for 21 years, been, in its essentials, that which the Department now demands for the Intermediate Certificate.

The whole effect of the Regulations has been to bring the Secondary Schools more directly under the Education Department. Before grants can be earned, curricula must be approved, premises and staff must be declared adequate, and the number of pupils in a class must be restricted. In so far as this makes for increased efficiency, it is altogether well, but there is a danger that teachers and managers, working under stereotyped conditions, may lose that power of initiative which, more than any enactments of department or parliament, tends to the increased efficiency of a school.

There is another danger. Inspection of Secondary Schools has, of necessity, become more rigorous. Specialists must be sent to examine special subjects, and there is a tendency for each Departmental Master to be made to feel that his particular subject is the only important one in the curriculum. Steadily and speedily, the standard of attainment is rising, and, in consequence, the risk of over-pressure is increasing. Fortunately there is also steadily growing the opinion that over-pressure is the one intolerable evil in education. Better send out from our educational factories a sound machine which is yet untried than a worn-out instrument which has worked itself done.

In consequence of the changes introduced by the new Regulations, Secondary Schools have, in many cases, found it necessary to add to their buildings as well as to their staffs. How is the increased cost to be met? The local ratepayer is taxed to his utmost capacity. No substantial additions to endowments need be looked for; for the private benefactor seldom seeks to relieve the State of the cost of a duty which it has undertaken. It is therefore more and more necessary that grants from the Imperial Exchequer should be maintained and increased. The establishment of the Education (Scotland) Fund by the Act of 1908 appears to promise substantial aid from the Exchequer. A sum of nearly half a million will be available for the purposes of that fund, one of which is said to be "to secure the maintenance in each Education District of a sufficient number of well-equipped and well-staffed centres of higher education." The success with which this purpose is fulfilled will be

proportional to the wisdom of the District Committees. Fortunately before any permanent steps have been taken, the Committees have been re-constituted, and now include representatives of all the interests involved. This re-constitution may mean much for the future of secondary education in Scotland. It may be expected that the Committees will support one or two fully equipped centres of higher education in each district rather than seek to set up a costly and inefficient secondary department in every little township in the district. Ample power is given to bring the pupil to the teacher and the school. It would be sheer waste to attempt to reverse the process.

Another purpose of the Education Fund is "to provide means whereby the opportunities for education at centres of higher education may be brought within the reach of duly qualified pupils in every part of the District." No one will deny the right of the child in the remotest part of a district to the benefits of higher education, but it will be necessary to guard against a misuse of the funds available for bursaries. No bursary should be granted without a reasonable guarantee that the bursar will complete a recognised course of secondary education during his tenure of the bursary. It is not uncommon for a class of 100 in the first year of the Intermediate Course to fall to 60 in the second year, and to 40 or even less in the third year.

The Act of 1908 provides that "the school-board having the management of any school which is a higher class public school within the meaning of the Education Act, 1872, shall be bound to maintain the same in a condition of efficiency as a secondary school, and shall have the same powers of providing for the maintenance thereof from the school fund as they have in respect of any other public school under their management." Such schools will, therefore, no longer run the risk of being treated as step-children. The managers of some small endowed schools will probably elect, or be compelled, to hand over their management to the local school-board, which shall then become liable for the maintenance of the school in a state of efficiency. There are, however, many cases in which it is neither possible nor desirable to transfer the management of an endowed school to the local school-board. The parish is a small rural one; the members of the school-board have little sympathy with higher education; they have no knowledge of the management of a secondary school. It would be a calamity if to such a board there were entrusted the destinies of a school whose interests are not bounded by the parish or even by the county in which it is situated.

By the minute of the Department, dated 27th April, 1899, a certain sum was set aside for distribution among secondary schools in Scotland.

For the year 1907–8, 55 schools received a total sum of £33,950 in grants under this minute. Of this total, £13,300 was paid to schools not under the management of school-boards. In many schools the salaries of teachers depend in whole or in part upon the continuance of this grant. But, by the Education Act, the grant is included in the Education Fund. In its stead, there will be paid to the managers of an endowed school, for each pupil whose parents are ordinarily resident outwith the school-board district in which the school is situated, a sum calculated as the equivalent of the expenditure from the endowment of the school upon the education of such pupil. The amount of this grant will therefore depend upon the average attendance in the first place, and, in the second, upon the number of pupils from outside parishes. There is thus considerable room for variation from year to year. A further payment may be made to the governing body of an endowed school from the education fund of the district, provided the cost of education in the school is not excessive as compared with that in other schools in the district. Here again the endowed schools are at the mercy of the District Committees.

To secure uniformity in the methods of awarding bursaries throughout a district, the Act provides that where the annual revenue of any endowment, applicable to the granting of bursaries, does not exceed £50, it shall be paid over to the District Committee to be administered by that Committee; and where the annual revenue available for bursaries exceeds £50, but does not exceed £1,000, it shall be applied by the Governing Body in conformity with the bursary scheme framed by the District Committee. The rights of schools or individuals to preference in the allocation of the bursaries are duly safeguarded. Overlapping should thus be prevented, and provided that District Committees and Governors of Endowed Schools work together, the various bursary schemes should become more effective for the purpose they were destined to fulfil.

One other provision of the Education Act may be noted. For the first time in the history of Scottish legislation, teachers in all public schools,—primary and secondary, endowed and central,—are offered pensions upon terms which are, to say the least, just and reasonable. Thus there is definitely established the important principle that teachers of every grade and engaged in every class of school, are members of one profession, entitled to one method of treatment in this matter of pensions.

Throughout the period under review, the question of the conditions upon which Intermediate and Leaving Certificates should be awarded has been a matter of earnest consideration. The question is an im-

portant one. Indeed it is not too much to say that the nature of its solution will determine the nature of the curricula of the Secondary Schools. The conditions for the Intermediate Certificate may now be regarded as fixed. Candidates for this Certificate must have followed an approved course of study in an Intermediate or Secondary School for at least three years. That course of study must include English, History, Geography; Mathematics, Arithmetic; one language other than English; Experimental Science; and Drawing. The attainments of the candidates in each subject are tested by examinations at the end of the course, the standard being normally that of the Lower Grade Leaving Certificate, although excellence in one subject may, to a certain extent, compensate for deficiency in another. Marks given by the teachers in each subject, and a general mark by the Headmaster, are taken into account in awarding or withholding the Certificates.

The new conditions have been subjected to much criticism on the ground that they impose a uniform curriculum upon the pupils at the Intermediate stage. It may be taken that, in the majority of cases, the school week is divided into 35 periods of some 45 minutes each. These are allocated as follows:—English, History and Geography, 7 to 9 periods; Mathematics and Arithmetic, 6 to 8; Science, 4; Drawing, 3; Foreign Language, 5 to 7; Physical exercises, 1 or 2; leaving in the most favourable case only 9 periods per week available for any specialisation on the part of individual pupils. This is not the place to discuss the general question of specialisation. It need only be pointed out that, on the one hand, there is general agreement that, if a uniform curriculum is desirable at this stage, that imposed by the Department is worthy of all commendation; and, on the other hand, that the Royal Commissioners of 1868, in their day, found chaos in the Secondary Schools of Scotland because of the absence of any fixed curriculum.

It was hoped that by the change of the date of the examinations from June to March or April an opportunity would be given for consultation between visiting Inspectors and teachers upon all cases in which the 'reasoned verdict' of the teacher differed widely from the results of the written examinations. Unfortunately this hope has not yet been realised. The written examinations, with all the accidents to which youthful examinees are prone, are still the main factor in the determination of the result. The machinery by which a true verdict may be arrived at has been invented. It remains to devise means to make that machinery work with the maximum efficiency.

The regulations for the Leaving Certificate proper are still under consideration. Here the difficulties are enormously increased by the

fact that the Leaving Certificate has become the principal passport to the Universities. Important changes are imminent in the regulations for the Preliminary examinations, Bursary competitions, and Degrees, in the Scottish Universities, and the time is not opportune for criticism of the existing conditions. One hopes that the day is not far distant when the possession of a Certificate testifying to the successful completion of a definite course of instruction in a Secondary School will exempt its holder from any further preliminary examination before entrance upon a course for a degree in a University. The broad lines upon which Leaving Certificates will in future be granted have been sufficiently indicated in recent circulars of the Department. Schools will submit curricula of studies extending over two or three years after the Intermediate Certificate has been gained. Specialisation, now that the general culture implied by the Intermediate Certificate has been attained, will be encouraged. English will be compulsory in every case, but otherwise there will be complete freedom to formulate courses complete in themselves, and having some definite bearing upon the future lifework of the candidates. As in the case of the Intermediate Certificate, account will be taken of the opinions of teachers as to the fitness of a candidate before a certificate is awarded or withheld.

For some years the Education Department has been steadily developing a great scheme of Secondary Education in Scotland. It has perforce proceeded slowly and gradually. Its whole aim was not apparent in the first circulars and minutes. But now the end is in sight, the full development of the scheme is at hand. It will find Scotland in the possession of means for Higher Education such as she never before could boast. Buildings and equipment are being supplied; teachers are being educated and trained; and the capable child in the remotest part of the country has open to him a clear path from the primary school to the University or the Technical College. All this is the result of the steadily pursued policy of the Education Department.

APPENDIX IV

THE PRESENT STATE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

(By Dr JOHN G. KERR, Headmaster of Allan Glen's School, Glasgow.)

Technical Education as provided in colleges and other institutions with a view to the better equipment of those engaged in engineering and industrial pursuits has made great progress in Scotland during the past few years. Students are better prepared, the subjects are more immediately applicable, instruction is more direct and practical, and the State as well as the public is more generous in its support.

To form a just estimate of the present position it may be well, even at the risk of repetition, to make some reference to the stages by which that position has been reached.

It is in the first place important to remember that in the early years of the 19th century there was in Edinburgh, in Glasgow, and for that matter in every town of note in the country a most vigorous movement for technical education. Mechanics' Institutes, offering courses in chemistry, natural philosophy and mathematics, and attended by crowded audiences (one course in Glasgow had a roll of 900), testified to a widespread desire for instruction in scientific matters. As confirmatory evidence of the volume and importance of the work done it is interesting to find in 1824 an eminent mechanical engineer, M. Dupin, calling the attention of France to the Andersonian College, "a school for teaching the theory of the mechanical and chemical arts—intended not only for the directors of the workshops but particularly for the simple working man." He attributes the industrial supremacy of this country to the cultivation of science, and he calls upon Frenchmen "not to remain behind in this immense progress but to proceed on the same lines in order to outstrip, if possible, a people whom Nature has made our rival in every kind of glory."

Soon however there fell a blight on Mechanics' Institutes and science-diffusing societies. Save in the great centres, and even there the falling off was rapid and decided, the Mechanics' Institute failed to maintain its vitality and the promise of its youth. The students were as a rule too old, their preliminary training was too limited, the lecture system was not fruitful, and financial difficulties appeared. This is in brief the story of the first stage.

The second half of the century experienced a strong revival of interest in science teaching. The great exhibition of 1851 supplied the stimulus, and in the course of a few years, through the operations of the Science and Art Department a "People's University," as Huxley put it, was established. Through the fostering influence of grants earned under relatively easy conditions as to equipment and staffing, but in connection with a strict scheme of examinations with rigorous tests of proficiency in the carefully drawn programmes of study of such subjects as Mathematics, Descriptive Geometry, Mechanics, Electricity, Steam, Geology and Physiology, there gradually came into existence in the cities, the towns, and even the more enterprising villages, active committees under whom classes were organised, examinations conducted, and instructors paid. Central institutions began to weld isolated classes into systematic courses and the schools also found it financially profitable to establish a connection with the Science and Art Department. During session 1892–3, for example, the grant for science given to Scotland amounted to £27,000, of which more than £5000 was earned by the eight organised science schools then in existence. In these schools the curriculum, while mainly built up of well-ordered courses in physics, chemistry, mathematics and manual instruction, had at least one-third of the school-time devoted to literary subjects. So far therefore as the associating of science study with a sound general education is concerned South Kensington can claim to have taken the broad view and to have done service of high educational value. The kind of instruction in science however was essentially academic and only indirectly utilitarian. The tender phrasing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 indicates the spirit in which, not only in schools but also in central institutions, the teaching of science was carried on. According to that act Technical Instruction was concerned with the principles of science and art applicable to industries but "did not include teaching the practice of any trade, industry, or employment." Since 1900 the work initiated by the Science and Art Department and successfully carried on for half a century, has been undertaken by the Board of Education; and since July, 1907, sums allotted to schools by the Scotch Education Department from the Science and Art vote have been merged in payments for the whole work done in secondary schools, provided that science subjects receive adequate attention there. The central specialised institutions are liberally supported on a separate scheme. This takes us to the end of the second stage and to the conviction that discipline in science is of service in general culture and is a subdivision of secondary education; that a full general school training must include such discipline; and that technical instruction to

be of real efficacy must rest on the broad basis of the modern secondary school programme.

The third stage in the evolution, that in which we now are, is marked by clearness of view, definiteness of aim, and extended scope of operation. The progress and pressure of civilisation demand specific preparation for specific services and the technical education of to-day is hastening to meet, in some cases even to anticipate, the needs of industry and commerce.

Accommodation, equipment, subjects and methods are being considered with immediate reference to practical life. In Scotland there is a great and growing supply of important institutions working along lines which lead to industrial fields where advance is not possible except through increase of knowledge and control of scientific principles. Evening continuation classes are provided by school-boards either to secure additional preparation for the higher instruction in technical colleges or to supply courses of practical instruction that will, apart from the question of higher training, improve the efficiency of workers in various industries. Aberdeen for example has organised classes of the latter kind on a liberal scale. Alongside the higher technical institute schools with commercial, domestic and science classes there are courses of instruction for architects, builders, cabinet-makers, engineers, lithographers, naval architects, painters, plumbers, stone-cutters, and wood-carvers.

Edinburgh school-board also is remarkable for its enterprise in establishing classes in millinery, carpentry, cabinet-making, machine-drawing, building-construction, applied art, confectionery, proof-reading, &c. In the Clyde area a joint committee from school-boards and other authorities has during the past four years provided in classes affiliated to the technical college most valuable opportunities for youths who desire to join the college later on. In session 1908–9 thirty-seven centres were at work with an attendance of 4000 students. A definite, uniform, balanced scheme of special preparation in these classes has been carefully thought out and is periodically reviewed by the organiser in conference with the instructors. The results obtained so far would justify a great extension of the committee's operations. Every youth who avails himself of this scheme is bound to profit even if he should not proceed to college. Some, no doubt many, will during the process discover that they have qualities, hitherto latent. They will strive to develop these qualities and in them the college will secure students of promise. In addition to classes preparatory to higher technical education the committee has encouraged for operatives trade classes in which skilled craftsmen are the instructors, the kind of work done being

approximately that of the shops. The conditions of apprenticeship have undergone such change of late years that the usefulness of well-managed trade classes is beyond dispute. How far employers are morally bound to assist in promoting technical continuation and trade classes is not easy to determine. The earnest and well disciplined apprentice is worth cultivating for his immediate service apart altogether from the wider issue of national progress.

In the great central colleges the movement for specific training for specific function finds its highest and most vital expression. The embodiment of the technical education idea in an imposing edifice richly endowed with material appliances for its realisation is in itself of great significance and fraught with subtle and far-reaching influences. From this point of view Edinburgh with its handsome, commodious, and highly equipped Technical College—the Heriot-Watt; and Glasgow, rejoicing in the magnificence and elaborateness of its huge institute in George Street [The Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College], command enthusiastic admiration and approval.

Needless to say the credit for the progress with which technical colleges to-day are so generously and so justly credited lies with the distinguished management and their able officers of the teaching staffs. That programmes of organised instruction of a highly specialised type and related to the requirements of modern engineering and industrial advance can be successfully carried through, is due however to the excellence of the preparation of the students, and therefore to the improved character of elementary education and the remarkable extension in scope and duration of secondary school work in Scotland.

At the Heriot-Watt College last session there were in attendance at strictly technical classes 3000 evening students and 250 day students. New engineering laboratories with complete equipment for instruction in prime-movers were opened. A mining department has been established, a laboratory for technical mycology has been added to the department for the training of brewers, and extensive accommodation has been arranged for a painting school. A close and mutually profitable relation exists between the Heriot-Watt and the University, and there seems to be a likelihood of still closer co-operation in which the scope of the B. Sc. degree may be so widened as to permit Heriot-Watt students to graduate in some special branch or other of engineering practice. The number of science graduates from the Heriot-Watt College is considerable and excellent post-graduate and research work is being carried on in its laboratories.

The last annual report of the Governors of the Glasgow and West of

Scotland Technical College gives the following remarkable figures as to volume of work:—Individual students 1907–8 at day classes 605, at evening classes 4621, at Allan Glen's School 692—total 5918; student hours, at day classes 193,855, at evening classes 295,923—total 489,778. In that report attention is directed to the suggestive fact that the roll of students contains the names of 175 graduates of the Universities of Aberdeen, Berlin, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ireland (Royal), London, Oxford, St Andrews and Victoria. The diploma of the college is granted in the following departments:—civil engineering, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, mining, weaving, architecture (conjointly with School of Art), naval architecture, chemistry, metallurgy, mathematics, and physics. The courses of study extend, for each diploma, over three sessions. Holders of the diploma of the college are eligible for the degree of B.Sc. in engineering of the University of Glasgow after one year's attendance at prescribed university classes. There is under consideration a still closer connection between the University and the Technical College involving the likelihood of advantage to students and to both institutions, from a rearrangement of B.Sc. work in which regard will be paid to a judicious division of labour and responsibility.

In addition to classes in subjects belonging to the several diploma courses there have been provided many most successful trade evening classes—e.g. in plumbing, sheet-metal work, boot-making, printing and allied trades, watch and clock making, baking and confectionery. Of the students attending these evening classes it is interesting to note that 1374 are engineers and draughtsmen, 717 are in the building trade, 353 are civil and mining engineers, 239 are bakers, 120 are telegraphists, 161 are chemists, 110 are boiler-makers, 251 are clerks or civil servants, and 167 are teachers. The staff of the college consists of 10 Professors, 9 other Heads of Departments, and 124 Assistant Lecturers, Demonstrators, and Trade Instructors. The maintenance of the college entails an annual expenditure of about £30,000. Government grants, made under a special minute of the Scotch Education Department, with the approval of the Treasury, amount to about £10,000. About £13,000 is derived from endowments or is secured by Act of Parliament, and about £6,500 is students' fees. In 1903 His Majesty laid the foundation stone of the new buildings. The public have cherished high expectations of the benefits that will flow from the active existence of this great organisation, and the list of subscriptions to the building fund has reached £350,000, £53,805 being Government grant, £20,500 from the Corporation of Glasgow, and £10,500 from the Educational Endowments Board. Of other institutions in Scotland

doing technical work mention might be made of the Schools of Art, and particularly of the Glasgow School of Art, with its vast influence on art teaching in the Western Division; of Gordon's College and Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen; of the Paisley Technical College; of the School of Mining, Coatbridge; and of the Leith Navigation School; of the agricultural colleges, and of the centres of instruction under their control; of the veterinary colleges, and of the schools of domestic economy. Enough, however, has been said to justify the claim that, as regards technical education in all its phases, Scotland occupies a strong position.

APPENDIX V

THE UNIVERSITIES.

(By Professor DARROCH, Chair of Education, Edinburgh.)

Changes in the Art curriculum. Since 1906 the most important change has been the passing of new ordinances regulating the granting of degrees in Arts in the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh. As yet, the University of St Andrews has not brought itself into line with the other three universities, but it is understood that the authorities there are engaged in the framing of an ordinance with a similar object in view.

The ordinances of the three universities named are drawn up in almost identical terms and effect fundamental changes in the organisation of the Arts faculties.

The first change effected is, that, under the new conditions, instead of the present one Winter Session, the Academical year will extend to twenty-five teaching weeks and will be divided into three periods or terms. Along with this extension of the session, it is proposed to reduce the number of lectures or of formal class-meetings from 100 to 75 and to extend and to develop tutorial work in connection with the various classes. With the longer session, and by the provision of tutorial assistance, it is hoped that more individual attention may be paid to students than under the present system.

The second change introduced by the new ordinances is the reduction of the number of subjects which may be included in a degree course. In the Aberdeen and Edinburgh ordinances it is enacted that

"the curriculum for the ordinary degree in Arts shall consist of *five* subjects of which two subjects shall be studied for two Academical years...provided that it shall be in the power of the Senatus with the approval of the University Court to reckon courses in two cognate subjects as two courses in one subject."

The ordinance of the University of Glasgow differs slightly from those of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. In the former it is laid down that "the curriculum for the ordinary degree of Master of Arts shall consist of *five* or *six* subjects." If a five-subject degree is selected, then two of the subjects must be studied during two sessions: if a six-subject degree is chosen, then one subject must be studied during two sessions, and of the other five subjects, two must be cognate (e.g. Logic and Moral Philosophy) and these must be studied in separate sessions.

The effect of these new regulations is to give entire freedom to the universities in the framing of curricula for students, and it now becomes possible to establish a degree course which shall include neither Latin nor Greek nor Mathematics. Thus e.g. a university may approve a course which includes French and German studied during two sessions along with English, Moral Philosophy and Logic studied during one session. The third change is the power given to each university to frame its own courses of study without reference to the other universities. Under the new ordinances the Senatus and University Court of each university has power to make from time to time regulations regarding "the selection of subjects for the curriculum, their classification as cognate, and the order in which they are to be studied, and also regarding the standards of the degree examinations and the conditions of admission thereto." Moreover power is also given to the Senatus and University Court to include or exclude any subject of university study in a graduating course and to establish new courses for Degrees with Honours.

Other changes in curriculum. Early in 1907 the University of Edinburgh obtained approval of an ordinance giving them power to establish the degree of Bachelor of Science in Forestry, and arrangements have now been made for a complete course of instruction in Forestry. In July, 1907, a new ordinance regulating degrees in Medicine and Surgery was also obtained by the same university. The principal features of the ordinance are the increased opportunities given to students for taking each of the four professional examinations in separate sections, and the holding of degree examinations in December as well as in spring and summer.

Changes in Bursary Regulations. New ordinances dealing with the regulations as to the award of Bursaries and Fellowships have also been

promoted by the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, the object being to allow the university authorities greater freedom than before in regard to the selection of the subjects in competitive examinations and in the award of bursaries.

New Chairs and Lectureships. During the past two years, several important additions have been made to the teaching staffs of the universities. The following are the most important:—

University of St Andrews.

(1) Lectureship in Diseases of the Skin.
(2) „ „ of Children.
(3) „ Latin.
(4) „ English and Philology.
(5) „ Mathematics.

University of Glasgow.

(1) John S. Dixon Chair in Mining.
(2) Lectureship in Physical Optics.
(3) „ Celtic.
(4) „ Psychology.
(5) „ Early and Middle English
(6) „ Social Economics.
(7) „ Pathological Histology.

University of Aberdeen.

*(1) Lectureship in Constitutional Law and History.
*(2) „ International Law.
(3) „ Geology.
(4) „ Forestry.
(5) „ English.
(6) „ Study of Fisheries.

University of Edinburgh.

(1) Lectureship in Geography.
(2) „ Economic History.
(3) „ Mercantile Law.
(4) „ Statistics and Mathematical Economics.
(5) „ Forest Botany.
(6) „ History of Medicine.

* By the establishment of these lectureships Aberdeen has now a fully constituted Faculty of Law, and is able to prepare students for the LL.B. degree.

I. *Imperial Grants.* At the present time, the Scottish Universities receive from Imperial funds an annual grant of £72,000 (£42,000 under the Act of 1889 and £30,000 under the Act of 1892). In view of the fact that the newer universities of England and Wales have received large grants within recent years, a conjoint representation was made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for increased assistance for the Scottish Universities. A favourable reply was received and a Treasury Committee with the Earl of Elgin as Chairman has recently been appointed to inquire into the needs and claims of the universities.

Under Clause 16, Sub-section (b) of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908, the universities may also participate in the Education (Scotland) Fund in respect of yearly maintenance expenditure.

II. *Carnegie Trust Grants.* The Carnegie Trustees in their second quinquennial distribution from October 1st, 1908, to September 30th, 1913, have allotted the following sums to the respective universities.

St Andrews	£37,500	(£7,500 annually for 5 years)
Glasgow	£50,000	(£10,000 „ „)
Aberdeen	£40,000	(£8,000 „ „)
Edinburgh	£52,500	(£10,500 „ „)

III. *Private Benefactors.* During the past two years, the Universities of Scotland have received several notable private benefactions. The most important are the following:—

University of St Andrews.

From

(1) Andrew Carnegie, Esq., LL.D., for additional library accommodation at St Andrews £10,000

(2) Andrew Carnegie, Esq., LL.D., for erection and equipment of physical laboratory at Dundee £14,500

(3) Professor Purdie for chemical research laboratory at St Andrews £9,000

(4) Mrs Bell Pettigrew for the erection of a museum at St Andrews £6,000

(5) From the estates of the late Jane Moncrieff Arnott and of her father the late James Moncrieff Arnott, Esq., of Chapel, Fife ... ... (about) £7,000

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

From

(1) James S. Dixon, Esq., LL.D., Fairleigh, Bothwell, for the endowment of a Chair of Mining (in addition to £10,000 previously given) £6,500

(2) From the trustees of the late Mr T. Graham Young, Glasgow, towards the endowment of a Lectureship in Metallurgical Chemistry £5,000

(3) From the Bellahouston Trustees for the acquisition and equipment of a new recreation ground ... £2,500

(4) From the Right Honourable Lord Newlands for the purpose of providing additional income for Snell exhibitioners at Oxford £10,000

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

From

(1) The late Colonel Alex. Milne, C.I.E., for bursaries for poor students £9,170

(2) The late Mr William Knox, Grain Merchant, Aberdeen, for Scholarships in Arts and Bursaries in Medicine and Divinity £5,000

(3) The late Dr John Wight, Aberdeen, for Medical bursaries £3,000

(4) The Hon. A. McRobert, Cawnpore, for Cancer Research Fellowship ... ... per annum £400

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

From

(1) Sir John Jackson, C.E., London, an endowment to be called "The Professor Tait Memorial Fund" to encourage Physical research ... per annum (about) £200

(2) William McEwan, Esq., LL.D., an endowment for the upkeep of the McEwan Hall £6,450

(3) From the estates of the late Jane Moncrieff Arnott and of her father the late James Moncrieff Arnott, Esq., of Chapel, Fife £22,320

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